

THE
HISTORY

OF THE

Revolution of *Persia*

Taken from the

MEMOIRS

OF

Father *KRUSINSKI*,

PROCURATOR of the

JESUITS at ISPAHAN;

Who lived Twenty Years in that Country, was employ'd by the Bishop of *Ispahan*, in his Negotiations at the *Persian* Court; for the EMPEROR and KING of *France*; and was familiarly conversant with the greatest Men of all Parties.

Done into ENGLISH, from the Original, just publish'd with the Royal Licence at Paris,

By Father DUCERCEAU,

Who has prefix'd a Map of PERSIA, and a short History of the SOPHIES; with curious Remarks on the Accounts given by TAVERNIER, Sir JOHN CHARDIN, and other Writers that have treated particularly of that Government and Country, &c.

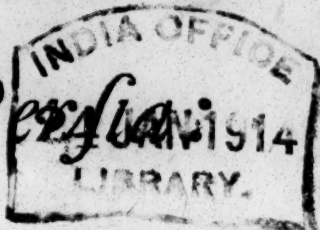
To which is added,

A short View of the Antient History of *Persia*, to the Time of USUMCASSAN; not in the London Edition.

DUBLIN:

Printed by S. POWELL, for

GEORGE RISK at *Shakespear's-Head*, GEORGE EWING at the *Angel and Bible*, and WILLIAM SMITH at the *Hercules*, Booksellers, in *Dame's-Street*; MDCCXXIX;



ORW. 1986.a. 1346

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THE PREFACE.

THOUGH the Gazettes and other publick News-Papers have, for several Years past, given us many Particulars about the Revolution in Persia; yet perhaps there is no Event of our Time, that has been deliver'd to us with more Obscurity. This is not said to throw any Blame upon the Authors who hand those Advices to us: They are not answerable for Accounts which are sent to them at so great a Distance; and, be they ever so defective, we owe them Thanks for the Care they have taken to inform us, as much as was in their Power, of every Thing relating to this great Catastrophe.

As to Events of the like Nature in Countries remote from us, we have nothing scarce to depend on, but the Relations given by Persons who were Eye-Witnesses, who were in a Situation and Capacity to be informed, not only of what was of a publick Nature, but also of the most private Transactions, as well at the Court of Persia, as of that Nation which has newly conquered that vast Kingdom; Persians, in short, who being Foreigners, with regard to Persia, could have no Reason to favour one Party more than another.

The History which follows is founded upon Evidence of this kind; for the only Plan upon which I have formed it, is the Memoirs of J. J. Jude Krusinski, a Polish Jesuit,

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The History which follows is founded upon Evidence of this kind, for the only Plan upon which I have formed it, is the Memoirs of *Isaiah Jude Krusinski*, a Polish Jesuit, who

who lived twenty Years at Ispahan, and did not leave that City till towards the Conclusion of the Siege ; and who, from Opportunities that I am going to mention, was in a Situation to be more particularly informed of the intrinsick Part of Affairs, than is generally possible for private Men, and Foreigners.

Two Years before the dethroning of Schah-Hussein, that is to say, in 1720. the Bishop of Ispahan, having a Brief from the Pope, and Letters from the Emperor to the King of France, to deliver to the King of Persia, the Prelate engaged Father Krufinski, the Procurator of the Jesuits in that Kingdom, to accompany him to his Audience, and to assist him in the Prosecution of those Affairs which he had to negotiate with the King's Ministers. As that Polish Jesuit, who had been eighteen Years in Persia, was very well known at Ispahan, and was better versed than any other European in the Method of transacting Business there, the Prelate reposed so much Confidence in his Probity and Experience, that he totally abandoned the Care of his Negotiation to him ; so that, as Father Krufinski says himself, nothing was treated there but what passed through his Hands.

The frequent Opportunities which the Course of this Negotiation gave him of conversing with the chief Ministers, and the principal Officers of Schah-Hussein ; and the Friendship they bore him for his Integrity and Wisdom, put him into a Capacity to be informed of Abundance of the Anecdotes and Secrets of that Court, which could not be learned from any but those who were concerned in the Arcana of Affairs. A Man of his Abilities, who for two Years, the most curious Part of Schah-Hussein's Reign, and in the very critical Times of the Revolution, was with all the Ministers, and admitted not only to their Audiences, but also to their Conversation, could not fail of coming at many Particulars which could not be learned without Doors. The Reader will easily discover this in many Parts of this History, and especially in those which relate to the Intrigues and Finesses of Myrr-Weis, Father to Myrr-Maghmut, who dethroned Schah-Hussein. The first Part of this
History

P R E F A C E.

v

History is the more curious, because it is quite new to Europe, where nothing of it has hitherto been so much as touched on.

Father Krusinski wanted nothing to be fully informed of every Circumstance relating to the Revolution in Persia, but to have the same Intimacy with the Aghvans, who are the Conquerors, as he had with the Persians, who are the Conquered; and Providence favoured him with this Opportunity in the Manner I am going to relate.

During the Siege of Ispahan, there was none left in the Jesuits Monastery at Zulfa; but the Procurator of that Society, who chose to stay there, if possible to preserve the few Moveables which the Missionaries had been forced to leave behind them. This Procurator, who before the Troubles was obliged to keep in the Stables, for the Use of the Missionaries, Mules and Asses, which the common People of Persia generally ride upon, was furnished with several Sorts of Salves and Ointments proper for the Distempers of those Animals, and was very well skilled in the Method of applying them. When the Aghvans had taken Zulfa, it happened that the High-Steward of Maghmud's Court, l'Esik Aghari, was seized with a Distemper which his Physicians thought incurable. As the Remedies which the Jesuit try'd with very good Success in the Cure of the Distempers of Beasts of Burthen, had acquired him at Zulfa the Reputation of an able Physician, who was Master of choice Secrets, he was recommended to the Lord Esik Aghari. The Physicians having already given him over, he had no Experiment left but to have recourse to a foreign Practitioner, under whose Care he could not fare worse than he had done with his own Doctors, who thought him incurable: Therefore the Procurator Jesuit was sent for. As he was more a Farrier than a Physician, he was not willing to start out of his Sphere; and, therefore, in the Use and Application of his Remedies, he managed his Patient as he used to do his Asses and Mules. The Success exceeded his Expectation, and his Remedies had the most happy and compleat Effect. The Patient, after being given over by his own Physicians, was perfectly recovered, and the Jesuit by his

Cure acquired as much Esteem from the Lord Esik Aghari as he had gained a Reputation for Physick throughout the Aghvan Army. The first Use which the Jesuit Operator made of his Credit with his Patient, was to engage him to send for Father Krufinski, his Brother Missionary from Ispahan, the only Jesuit that was left in the City, where he was ready to perish for Hunger. He gave him to understand that this Father, to whom he was but an Apprentice, was much better skilled than himself in Physick, and had Secrets even more wonderful than this. He needed no other Argument to perswade Esik Aghari to send for him from Ispahan to Zulfā, with the Permission of Myrr-Maghmur, * who consented to it without any Difficulty.

Father Krufinski, coming to the Patient's House made such a handsome Acknowledgment to his Deliverer, by the Salves and Ointments of which he made him a Present, that he not only gained his Favour, but his Confidence; and became one of his most intimate Friends. His constant Attendance upon this great Officer, and the frequent Conversation they had together while he was on the mending Hand, gave him an Opportunity to be thoroughly informed of every particular Passage in the Expedition of the Aghvans; and it may be affirmed that no Body was more capable to set him right in the whole Affair, than an Officer of that Rank, who had been present at all the Consultations, and had the greatest Share in the Execution.

The History, therefore, I now publish, is taken from the authentick and accurate Memoirs of an intelligent impartial Man, who relates nothing but what he saw with his own Eyes, or heard from the Ministers of both Parties, of the greatest Knowledge and Authority; and I dare affirm, that there's scarce a History in the World that can be so much depended upon for the Truth and Certainty of Facts as this, at least to the Conclusion of the Year 1725. for the Memoirs of Krufinski go no farther.

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* He was not yet Master of Ispahan; but Schah-Hussein, who was just on the Point of surrendering it, refused nothing that he demanded.

As for what has passed from the End of that Year to the present Time, which goes but a little Way in the second Part of this Work, I could have no Information but from the publick News-Papers, wherein Things are represented in a very imperfect and uncertain Light. Of this the Reader may judge by their Way of distinguishing the Place where the Aghvans gained a Victory over the Turks in 1727. The Battle, say they, was fought between Erivan and Ispahan; which is very near the same Thing, as if, to tell where a Battle was fought in France, they should say it happen'd betwixt Quimpercorentim and Marseilles; for the Distance betwixt these two Towns is not so great as between Erivan and Ispahan.

As to the little Dependance that is to be placed upon those Originals, with regard to the Certainty of Facts, I will only give one Instance here, which is, That it is pretended that the Turks laid Siege, for the first Time, to Ispahan, about the End of the Summer in 1725. though 'tis evident from the Memoirs of Father Krusinski, that in the Excursion, which they then made that Way, they did not come within three Days Journey of the Place.

What I mention at the End of my History, touching the Articles of the Treaty of Peace, concluded between the Grand Seignior and the Sultan Aszraff, is taken from the same News-Papers. I have only omitted one Article, which I did not think in the least probable. 'Tis that where 'tis said, that the Sultan Esreff, and his Envoys shall be received at Constantinople, and in the other Towns of the Ottoman Empire as true Mussulmen; notwithstanding such is the Difference of Opinions between the Turks and Persians, that they look upon one another as Hereticks. This Article might have stood, if the Turk had been treating with Schah-Hussein, or the Sophies his Predecessors, who were of the Sect of Rafi: But it can by no Means suit with Sultan Aszraff, and the Aghvans, who are now the prevailing Nation in Persia, and who are in all Respects of the same Religion, and the same Sect as the Turks, namely, of the Sect of Sunni, or the Followers of Omar, as may be observed in many Parts of this Hi-

story. So that this is just the same Thing, as if, in a Treaty of Peace between two Roman Catholick Princes, who also acknowledge one another as such, it should be stipulated that for the future they shall no longer treat each other as Hereticks.

I make these Observations here, to admonish the Reader, that as to the Certainty of Things, he ought to make a great Difference between the Facts posterior to the Year 1725. which I only took from the publick News Papers, and which I have very succinctly related at the Close of this Work, and the Facts preceding that Period, which are all grounded upon the certain and genuine Memoirs of Father Krusinski : This very Person sent them to Father Fleuriau, Procurator of the Jesuits Mission in the Levant; and from this Reverend Father I receiv'd them, in order to make them publick; so that as they came to my Hands from that Source, and by this Canal, the present History I have compos'd from them may justly be look'd upon as a Continuation of the Memoirs of the Levant Missions, of which Father Fleuriau has already publish'd six Volumes.

I have not advanc'd one Fact concerning the Events of this Revolution, to the End of the Year 1725. but what is taken from the Memoirs of Father Krusinski; but I have not observed the same Order in my History as he has done : He divides his Relation into three Parts. The first contains the Arrival of the Aghvans before Ispahan, the Siege and Surrender of that Capital, the Abdication of Schah-Hussein, the two Years and half of the Usurper Maghmud's Reign, the Installation of his Successor, and his Actions to the End of the Year 1725. The second contains the Origin of the Rebellion of the Aghvans, and all the Intrigues of Myrr-Weis, Father to Maghmud, as well at Ispahan as Candahar; his Rebellion, his Return to his own Country, and the Consequences of that Rebellion, to the Moment that his Son Maghmud set out from Candahar at the Head of his Army to besiege Kirman first, and then Ispahan. The third and last Part is spent in discovering the Disorder and

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Confusion of the Persian Government in all its Parts, under the Reign of a weak Prince, a Slave to the Will and Pleasure of his Eunuchs, Persons as incapable to govern, as he was himself.

This was the Method Father Krusinski propos'd in his Memoirs, which in my History I have thought fit to alter. The last Part which takes up almost one half of the Memoirs, is what I treat of first, and what I have most contracted; so that what relates to the Disorders of the Government, consider'd in general, is hardly the eighth Part of my History. But I have taken more Scope as to particular Facts, which I have detach'd from that third Part, in order to range them in their due Place, according to the Order of Time in the Course of the History. From the Disorders of the Government, I pass to the Origin of the Aghyans, who have conquer'd Persia, which takes in all the second Part of Father Krusinski's Memoirs, with which I conclude the first Part of my History.

The second Part begins at the Departure of Myrr-Maghmud, when he march'd from Candahar to besiege Kirman first, and then Ispahan, and describes the whole Series of the Revolution to the Treaty of Peace, lately concluded between the Grand Seignior and the Sultan Afzraff, by which the latter is left in quiet Possession of the Throne of Persia, and secur'd against the only Enemy that was powerful enough to molest him in his Conquest.

'Tis true that the Turk has Reason to be satisfied with the Share that remains to him, which is near two hundred Leagues of the Country in Length, from the Kingdom of Caket, the most Northern Part of Georgia, to the City of Amadan on the South, and in some Places above one hundred Leagues in Breadth. But I leave it to Politicians to judge, whether Conquests at so great Distance, which reach to the Center of Persia, are a valuable Acquisition for a Prince who is four hundred or five hundred Leagues off, and who will be very happy, if hereafter it does not cost him more to preserve them than what he will get by them.

This

This was all that I had to say, in order to satisfy the Publick, as to the Materials I had for this History, and my Method in writing it. All that remains for me now, is to explain some Points which seem'd to me to deserve it.

I may be blam'd for Instance, because, especially in the first Part of my History, I mention the Facts without Dates. To this I answer, that I found none in my Memoirs, where the Years are not distinguish'd till towards 1720. Mean Time as this Want of Date is always perplexing to the Reader, I will endeavour to supply it here, and regulate my self according to an Event which is clearly distinguish'd in those Memoirs, and mention'd in a Note in the first Part of this History.

The Fact is this: The Muscovite Embassy, which so alarm'd the Persian Court, because of the Czar's Power becoming formidable even in Asia, after the entire Defeat of the King of Sweden, could not arrive at Ispahan till after the Battle of Pultowa, which was fought July 8. 1709. and because it was by Reason of this Embassy that Myrr-Weis was sent back to Candahar, where soon after his Arrival he rebell'd; this gives Room to fix the sending back of Myrr-Weis to his own Country, and his Rebellion in the latter Months of the Year 1709.

As it must take him up Time to defeat the ill Impressions which the Prince Georgi-Kan, Governor of Candahar had given him at the Court of Persia, and afterwards to make a Tour to Mecca, and to return from thence to Ispahan, where he also staid some Time before he was sent back to Candahar, he could not in less than four Years do this, and reconcile himself with the Ministers, and the King himself, and erect all his Batteries against the Court, by Means of the Rebellion, which he was contriving; so that it may be conjectur'd that it was about the Year 1705. that the Prince Georgi-Kan sent him to Ispahan, as a dangerous Man that ought to be suspected.

It was not till two Years after his Rebellion that an Army was sent against him, which he defeated. This Expedition and this Defeat could not fall out, therefore, but in the Year 1711.

I meet with another Perplexity relating to the Death of Myrr-Weis. Father Krufinski's Memoirs places it first in 1717. which Date is blotted out in my Manuscript, and 1713. writ over it. But as I don't know whether this is the Author's Correction, and as besides the Date of 1713. cannot tally with the important Facts related in the Memoirs, I thought fit to adhere to that of 1717. which agrees perfectly with these Facts.

'Tis said that after the first Victory which Myrr-Weis gain'd over the Persians, which, as I have prov'd, could not be sooner than the Year 1711. fresh Armies were sent against him every two Years, over which he had always the Advantage. Now if he died in 1713. that is to say, two Years after his first Victory, he would not have had the Opportunity of beating those Armies, which after 1711. only came every two Years to give him any Disturbance.

Moreover 'tis prov'd by the Memoirs, that the Brother of Myrr-Weis, who succeeded him in the Principality of Candahar, enjoy'd that Place but a few Months, or even a few Days; and that Maghmud, who had cut off his Uncle's Head, was his immediate Substitute. Now Maghmud, as is expressly said in our Memoirs, was but twenty six Years of Age when he died in 1725. therefore if his Father was dead in 1713. he would have been but fourteen Years old when he cut off his Uncle's Head, and caus'd himself to be declar'd Prince of Candahar, and General of the Troops of the Nation, which is beyond all Probability; whereas by supposing, as the Manuscript says in the first Place, that Myrr-Weis did not die till 1717. Maghmud, who was then eighteen Years of Age, and who by attending his Father in all his Campaigns and Excursions from his Infancy, could not but be more formed to Business, and more enterprizing, than is usual at that Age, might be in a Condition to fill the important Post to which he caused himself to be appointed.

It was not till two Years after his Installation, that the Court of Persia sent an Army against him, commanded by the Son of Sefi-Kuli-Kan, whom his Father served

in Quality of Lieutenant. Therefore this Expedition, which was unfortunate to the Persians, could not be made but in the Year 1713.

The successful Expedition of Luft-Ali-Kan, against Myrr-Maghmun was made the Year following, and by Consequence towards the Beginning of the Summer of 1720. It was in November that same Year that this General, who was involved in the Disgrace of the Prime Minister, his Brother-in-Law, was apprehended at Chiras. All the Facts posterior to this Event are dated in the Memoirs, as well as this last, so that it were needless to run this Chronology farther. But that the Reader may see the whole Series of it at one Glance, and consult it as he reads this History, I think it proper to place it here.

*Myrr-Weis was sent as a suspected Person from Candahar to Ispahan, towards the Close of } 1705
the Year.*

*There he stay'd without going out of the Town } 1708
till*

*He made his Pilgrimage to Mecca during that } 1709
same Year, and returned to Ispahan about the
End of it, or the Beginning of*

*He was sent back to Candahar, where he rebelled
about the End of that Year.*

*He defeated the Persian Army commanded by Ko- } 1711
strow-Kan, Prince of Georgia, in*

*He died, and was succeeded first by his Brother, } 1717
and then by his second Son Myrr-Maghmun,
in*

*Myrr-Maghmun defeated the Persian Army } 1719
sent against him, in*

*He is defeated by the Persian General Luft-Ali- } 1720
Kan in the Summer of*

*The General Luft-Ali-Kan was arrested, and
his Army dispersed by Means of the Disgrace
of Athemat-Doulet his Brother-in-Law, in
the Month of November, the same Year.*

Myrr-

- Myrr-Maghmud spent all the next Year in making }
 Preparations for a great Expedition, and set } 1721
 out in December.
- He arrived at Giulnabat, four Leagues from }
 Ispahan, the 8th of March. } 1722
- He made himself Master of Ispahan, the 22d of
 October, the same Year.
- He died, and his Cousin-Germain Aszraff suc- }
 ceeded him in April } 1725
- The Peace between the Grand Seignior and Asz- }
 raff was concluded at the End of } 1727

Thus have I given the Chronological Series of the principal Events of this Revolution, which will make amends for the Want of the Dates in the first Part of my History; for in the second, I have set them down exactly.

Since, wherever I have spoke of great Sums of Money in this History, I have specify'd them by Tomans, which I have afterwards valued by our own Coin, I am obliged to give an Explanation here, both as to that Money, and its Value.

The Toman is not a single Species of Coin, but Money in Tale, which is used in Persia for considerable Sums.

The Toman, taken in this Sense, never varies in itself, but the Variation of our Coins makes a proportionable Variation in that.

At the Time that Tavernier was in Persia, where he made his last Voyage in 1663. the Toman was valued at about fifteen (French) Crowns, or, by a nice Computation, at forty six Livres, a Denier, and one fifth, as he himself says, speaking of the Toman.

Our Money having risen since, the Valuation of the Toman rises in Proportion; insomuch that in the Time of Sir John Chardin, * whose Travels in Persia are later than those of Tavernier, the Toman was valued at fifty Livres.

* In his latter Voyages in Persia, he reduces the Toman to forty-five Livres, and we don't see what made it fall, but 'tis still certain, according to Kruſinski's Valuation, that under Schah-Solyman it was at sixty Livres.

Livres. I will only produce two Proofs of it taken from his Book, of the Coronation of Solymán. He there says, p. 381. 'They gave him eight Tomans, which are four hundred Livres.' And in another Place before that, p. 298. 'They took but 8000 Tomans, which are 400000 Livres.' Gemelli, who did not travel to Persia, till near thirty Years after Chardin's first Voyage, reduces the Toman to fifteen Crowns, and a little more; in which 'tis visible that he has only copied Tavernier, as he has done in many other Places, though he never misses an Opportunity to fall upon him when he can. It can't be doubted but the Valuation of the Toman, with respect to our Money, is very much risen since Tavernier; and that it was at least at fifty-five Livres, while Gemelli travelled in Persia, that is to say, in 1694. So Father Krusinski, who came thither eight or nine Years after, and stay'd twenty Years there, that is to say, during the greatest Part of the Reign of Schah-Hussein, values the Toman at sixty Livres of our Money. The Letter from a Capuchin of Aleppo, inserted in the Mercury of January 1727. confirms this Valuation, by saying, That a Toman is worth twenty Crowns. And this is the Rule I have constantly follow'd in my Valuation of the Tomans throughout the whole Course of this History.

As to the Coins of Persia, I think I ought to correct a Passage which is in the Relation inserted in the second Tome of the Mercury for December 1726. 'Tis there said, that the Ambassador sent by Aszraff to the Ottoman Porte carried for a Present 20000 Tomans of Gold, which seems to infer, that there are two Sorts of Tomans in Persia, Tomans of Gold, and Tomans of Silver, a Thing absolutely false, and which I observe here, to guard the Reader against a material Error, to which he might be liable in that Respect.

Whereupon I shall make these Remarks:

1. That they don't coin Gold in Persia, except upon the Accession of its Kings to the Crown, and only to scatter among the People; but that is not current Money.

2. That

2. That there are but two sorts of Sums in Persia, the one called Toman, the other called Or. Eight Larins make an Or, and eighty Larins a Toman; and, by consequence, a Toman is worth ten Ors. But when Tomans are mentioned, the Question is not whether they are of Gold or Silver; and this Term signifies only a certain fixed Sum in Accounts, which valued by the French Money is worth, at this Day, sixty Livres. This Remark is taken from Tavernier, who having traded considerably at the Court of Persia, where he often received great Sums of the King's Treasure, for the Diamonds and Jewels which he sold to that Prince in his several Voyages, ought to be credited more than any Body, as to what relates to the Money of this Kingdom.

If Gemelli has only copied Tavernier, as to the Coins of Persia, he can't be charged, however, with having copied him in the Description he gives of the Bridge of Chiras, over the Senderout, a Quarter of a League from Ispahan; for Tavernier says no more of it, than that 'tis an old Bridge. But Gemelli, who in all Probability never saw it, gives a Description of it according to that of the Bridge of Zulfa, or the Bridge of the Gaurs, given us by Tavernier. Indeed Gemelli faces this Bridge with high Walls of coloured Bricks, which have a great Opening in the Middle, with a cover'd Gallery, and two little Footways at the Sides towards the River.

In order to throw down these Walls, and those pretended Galleries, which Gemelli has raised of his own Good-Will upon the Bridge of Chiras near Ispahan, there needs no more than one Fact, related by Father Krufinski in his Memoirs, of which himself was an Eye-Witness. 'Tis the Method that Charpentier Jacoub, a Courlander, took in driving the Aghvans from this Bridge by Cannon-Shot, while the Persians defended it against them; for 'tis plain that he could only fire upon one Side of the Bridge, because otherwise, and if he had fired from either End of the Bridge, he would have knocked the Persians o-th'-Head, before he could have come at the Aghvans. Now, if this Bridge of Chiras, was faced with Walls and Galleries on
each

each Side, how could the Cannon do any Execution upon the Aghvans, whom he could only fire upon in Flank?

As to this Charpentier Jacob, I shall here add one Thing, which will prove what I have said of the little Credit that is to be given to the Relations that are handed to us of this War. According to Father Krufinski, who saw the Attack made upon the Bridge of Chiras on the 23d of March 1726. it was this Charpentier Jacob, who having levelled Cannons charged with Cartridges against the Aghvans, drove them from the Bridge. Now according to the Account inserted in the Mercury for November 1726. it was under the Command of this same Jacob the Courlander, that the Aghvans made an Attack upon the Bridge of Chiras that same Day the 23d of March, which is as much as to say, that this very Man fought on both Sides, attacking and defending the Bridge at the same Time.

In these Relations I might correct fifty Mistakes of the same Importance. I shall only hint at one, which is so contrary to all Manner of Probability, that I can't conceive how it could slip the Writer's Pen. 'Tis there pretended that in the last Sally made by the brave Eunuch Achmet Aga, the Prince of Havousa Machmet-Wali, who sustained it at first but weakly, joined openly then with the Aghvans; that he fell with them upon Achmet; that he drove him from the Posts where he had made a Lodgment; and that he put all the Persians he met with there to the Sword: And yet after this manifest Treachery, 'tis pretended that Schah-Hussein made an Apology for this Traitor, whom he then knew to be such, against an Eunuch who had done him faithful Service. This whole Narrative is absolutely false: The Eunuch was indeed blamed by the King for having fought without the Orders of Machmet-Wali General of the Army; but the General, who always held out for the King in Appearance to the End of the Siege, never turned his Arms against the Troops of that King which he commanded; and all that he could be reproached for upon this Occasion was, that he had not supported the Eunuch Achmet with as much Vigour as he might and ought to have done; as we shall find in that Part
of

of the History, where we have all the Particulars of this Adventure. Schah-Hussein was so far from suspecting that the General had betray'd him, that all the Eunuch Achmet could say to him upon this Occasion to convince him of it, and to open his Eyes to see a Piece of Treachery, which was but too palpable, was absolutely to no purpose.

Wherever I have mentioned the Chief Minister of Persia, I have called him the Athemat-Doulet, though others, and even my Memoirs call him Ichtimadewlet. But as, since Tavernier's Voyages, who always calls him Athemat-Doulet, he is more known by this Name in France than by any other, I have thought fit to retain it.

Our publick News-Papers don't agree about the Name of the new Sultan of Persia. Our Gazettes call him Esref, and the Accounts inserted in our Mercuries call him Acheraf. I know not how the Name of this Sultan ought to be pronounced; but as to the Way of Writing it I have followed the Memoirs of Father Krusinski, where it is always writ Aszraff.

To the End that nothing might be wanting which may contribute to the Satisfaction of the Reader of this Work, I have prefixed a short History of the Sophies, containing the Origin of that Family, and the Succession of Kings it has given to Persia, and that have reigned there from 1499. when Ismael, the first King of the Race of the Sophies, mounted the Throne, to the Month of October 1722. when Schah-Hussein, the last King of that Race was dethroned. This short History will serve as an Introduction to the History of the late Revolution; so that in one and the same Work, we shall have a compleat History of the Reigns of the Sophies, which have lasted but 224 Years.

As to Prince Thamas, who since the Conclusion of the Peace between the Turks and Aghvans, has given no Signs of Life, he must be considered as a Titular, who has no longer any real Possession in Persia; but only certain Rights, which indeed are well founded, and may be of great Service when the Times favour, but as they are at present, are more burthensome to him than they can be profitable.



A
SHORT VIEW
Of the ANCIENT
History of *Persia*,
To the Time of USUM-CASSAN.



THE late wonderful Revolution in *Persia* having excited the Curiosity of the Publick in every thing belonging to that once flourishing Empire; we thought it might not be unacceptable to the *English* Reader, for the better understanding of the following History, to premise something of the antient State of a Nation that has made such a Noise and Figure in the World for so many Ages.

THE antient *Persia* was for many Ages no more than a Province, and but a small one either, of that vast Track which now goes by the Name of the *Persian* Empire. The earliest authentick Accounts we have of it make it a Member of the *Assyrian* Empire, governed by a Præfect with the Title of King, but tributary to the *Assyrian* Monarchs. Those Princes being abandoned to Luxury and Voluptuousness, committed the whole Management of their Affairs to the Generals of their Armies. Two of these, *Arbaces* and *Belochus*, disdaining to serve under so weak and effeminate a Master as *Sardanapalus*, the last of the *Assyrian* Emperors, conspired against him, and besieged him in his Capital of *Nineveh*, where to avoid falling into the Hands of his Enemies, he set fire to his Palace, and was consumed in it, together with those vast Treasures which himself and Predecessors had been

been heaping up for several Ages. The Conquerors divided the Empire betwixt them. *Belochus* for his Share had *Affyria*, *Chaldea*, *Mesopotamia*, and the adjacent Provinces; and fixed the Seat of his Empire at *Babylon*. *Arbaces* took for his Part *Media*, *Persia*, and other Countries more to the Eastward. This Revolution happened about *Ann. Mund.* 3146.

UNDER this new Government, *Persia* continued much as before; subject indeed to its own Kings, but tributary to the *Medes*, who considered them only as their Lieutenants; till *Cambyfes II.* King of *Persia*, having married *Mandane*, Daughter of *Astyages*, Emperor of the *Medes*, *Cyrus* their Son, became Heir to both Empires, upon the Failure of the *Median* Line in the Person of *Cyaxares II.* Son to *Astyages*; about *A. M.* 3402.

THIS illustrious Hero, whose Virtues in Peace and War are celebrated by all Authors, both sacred and prophane, may be justly reckoned the Founder of the *Persian* Empire. For besides the entire Kingdom of *Media*, and all the Provinces possessed by the *Affyrian* and *Babylonian* Monarchs, he added to it the Countries of *Armenia*, *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and a great Part of *Arabia*; leaving behind him the Character not only of one of the greatest, but best Princes that ever reigned. His Son *Cambyfes* possessed none of his Virtues, but his Valour, which he successfully employed in the Reduction of *Egypt*, where he died, after a short Reign of seven or eight Years.

UPON the Death of *Cambyfes*, the legal Succession was interrupted by the Contrivance of the *Magi*, or Priests, who set upon the Throne one *Smerdis*, a Son of the High Priest, making the People believe he was a Brother of *Cambyfes*; a Matter of no great Difficulty in a Country where Retirement from the publick View, was always considered as a principal Part of the Majesty of their Princes. But the Impostor did not long enjoy his usurped Dignity. The Princes, and other Great Men of the Kingdom, discovering the Im-

postor, set upon him, and slew him in the Palace. *Darius Hystaspis*, of the Royal Line, was hereupon, by common Consent, elected into the vacant Throne. This Prince, his Son *Xerxes*, and several of their Successors, made long, but very unsuccessful Wars with the *Greeks*; the Genius of that free and brave People proving too hard for all the Forces of those powerful and mighty Monarchs. *Darius*, the Tenth in that Line of Succession, was invaded by *Alexander* the Great, King of *Macedon*, and after losing to him the three great Battles of *Granicus*, *Iffus*, and *Arbela*, was deprived both of his Crown and his Life, leaving his Empire in the Possession of his victorious Enemy, about *A. M.* 3635.

AFTER this Overthrow of the Monarchy, the *Persian* Nation lay obscure a matter of 535 Years; that is to say, from the 3635 Year of the World, to the 228 Year of Christ: Of which Time, they were 83 Years under the *Syrian* Successors of *Alexander*; and 452 Years under the Kings of *Parthia*, of the *Arfacidan* Race. For, as *Herodian* tells us, *Darius* having lost his Kingdom to *Alexander*, and the Conqueror himself dying soon after, his principal Captains divided *Asia*. But Discords often arising, and the *Macedonian* Power much broken by those Dissensions, gave an Opportunity to *Arfaces*, a *Parthian* Nobleman, to perswade the *Eastern* Nations, and among them the *Persians*, to cast off the *Grecian* Yoke, and assert their Liberty, which accordingly, under his Conduct, they performed; but with little Advantage to themselves, himself and his Successors assuming the Government to themselves, with as great Insolence of Power as ever the *Greeks*, or antient *Persian* Monarchs. From him all his Successors took the common Name of *Arfaces*, as the *Roman* Emperors that of *Cæsar*, and the old *Egyptian* Kings of *Pharaoh*. Agreeable to the Oriental Arrogance. The usual Style they affected was King of Kings; by which Name *Vologeses*, the Twentieth in that Succession, inscribed his

his Letters to *Vespasian* the Roman Emperor, in these Terms; *Arfaces, King of Kings, to Flavius Vespasian.* To which the other, without taking any Notice of the Insolence of his Royal Correspondent, returned his Answer with this Superscription, *Flavius Vespasian to Arfaces, King of Kings*; whether more out of Scorn, or Modesty, is not easy to determine. Certain it is, they were a Race of great and brave Princes, and rendered themselves more formidable to the Romans, than all the other Kings and States in the World besides. The Empire continued in their Hands, under two Races of their Kings, for the Space of 470 Years. *Artabanus*, the last of them, was overthrown, and killed in Battle by *Artaxerxes*, a young Persian Nobleman, of great Conduct and Valour; who not only restored the Monarchy to the antient Persians, but defeated *Severus*, the Roman Emperor, in such a Manner, that the Persians became as terrible to the Romans as ever the Parthians had been. His Son *Sapores* took *Valerian* the Emperor Prisoner. And in a few Years afterwards, they had encroached so far upon the Roman Territories, that *Constantine the Great* found it not only proper to draw Colonies from the North-West Parts of the Empire into the East, but removed the Imperial Seat from Rome to Constantinople, that he might be nigher hand to oppose their IncurSIONS; which is generally looked upon, by Historians, as one great Cause of the Fall of that mighty Empire.

IN this flourishing Condition did the Persian Monarchy continue from A. D. 228. to 634. At which Time the Saracen Caliphs having added this Kingdom to their large Empire, appointed here their provincial Deputies, with the Title of Sultans. These, though only a kind of Feudatory Princes, were perpetually making War upon each other; till at length *Mahomet*, Sultan of Persia, being hard pressed by some of his Neighbours, called in the Turks to his Assistance, by whose Means, under the Conduct of *Tangrolipix* their General, he gained a compleat Victory over his Enemies,

mies, and might easily have secured himself in the Sovereignty of *Persia*, had he made Use of his good Success with any tolerable Discretion. But he refusing to dismiss the *Turks*, and pay them their Wages, they turned their Arms against himself, and having defeated, and slain him, their General *Tangrolipix* was advanced to the *Persian* Throne, by the joint Consent of both Armies. This happened, *A. D.* 1030.

FROM the Time of this Prince the *Persian* History is so perplexed, as to be very little depended on for near 500 Years. Certain it is, that the Posterity of *Tangrolipix* did not long possess their new Acquisition; and *Persia* was invaded by the *Tartars*, and by them cantoned out into a great Number of petty Lordships and Principalities; in which State of Confusion it continued till the Coming of *Tamerlane*, who driving all before him, like a furious Hurricane, composed their Differences, by seizing on all for himself. Neither was this of any long Continuance. The Motions of *Tamerlane* were too quick, and his Progress too sudden, to produce a lasting Settlement. The Kingdom, through the Weakness of his Successors, and his own Imprudence, in cantoning his Estates among his Children, very soon reverted into the same Confusion in which he found it; and at last became a Prey to *Usum-Cassan*, an *Armenian* Prince, in the Manner related by the *French* Author, in his Introduction to the following History.

FROM a View of the many and amazing Revolutions, common to this with all other absolute Monarchies, we may learn how unstable all Government is, that is founded on meer Force, and not on the Consent of the People, with the Fences of Laws, and legal Institutions. We see how the most celebrated Heroes, who out of a barbarous Pride and Luxury of Power, have acquired the amplest Dominions, could not secure them to their Posterity but for a very few Successions; teaching Mankind this useful Lesson, *How vain a Thing it is to seek to conquer what they cannot govern.*

INTRO-



INTRODUCTION TO THE

HISTORY

Of the LATE

Revolution of *Persia* :

Or, A SHORT

History of the SOPHIES.



SHALL not here enter into the Inquiry, whether *Europeans* are in the Wrong to give the Title of Sophy to the Kings of *Persia* of the last Race: Sir *John Chardin* in his Account of the Coronation of *Soleiman*, Father to *Schah-Husseïn*, says, “ That a King “ of *Persia* would take that Title as an Affront. ”. Sir *John* adds, “ That for his own Part, he could not help “ smiling when he read the Titles *Sophy of Persia*, and “ *Grand Sophy*, in the Works of some of our Writers ; ” and he asserts, “ That the true Title of the “ Kings of *Persia* of that Family, is *Saslé*, or *Seslé*.

I shall not dispute this with him ; for, considering how well he was acquainted with the Language and Customs of *Persia*, 'tis to be presumed that he had Reason for his Foundation : But as the Abuse has prevailed ; and as 'tis customary in *Europe* to give the Kings of *Persia* of the last Race the Title of Sophy, which, with respect to us, is become the particular Distinction of their Family, I shall adhere to this Custom, right or wrong, as I find it established ; and shall give the Name of Sophy to that Family which sat on the Throne of *Persia* for two hundred Years, and which is now extinct by the *Schah-Hussein's* Abdication.

BUT before I enter into the History of this Family, I think I should take Notice, that there is nothing more perplexed than its Beginning. This is own'd by the Authors themselves that have wrote the History of it, who are not at all agreed as to the Manner how *Ismael*, the first King of this Race, came to the Throne; nor in a Multitude of other important Articles. Mean Time, as I must not be altogether neuter in this Controversy, I shall adhere chiefly to *Bizarus*, as to those Times of Perplexity and Obscurity which this History mentions, from the Death of *Usum-Cassan*, to the Reign of *Ismael* the first King of the Race of the Sophies. I shall likewise follow him in what relates to the Reign of *Ismael*, and that of the succeeding Kings to *Codabende*, beyond whom his History does not extend. As to the Kings of a later Date, I shall chuse out of the Accounts given by the several Authors, what I think of most Authority.

Origin of the Family of the Sophies.

THE Kings of *Persia* of this Family pretended to be derived from *Ali*, who was Cousin-Germain to *Mahomet*, and his Son-in-Law, by marrying *Fatima*
his

his Daughter. *Ali* succeeding his Step-Father, made a very great Alteration in his Law. He added some Things, left out others, put new Glosses on it, and made such a Reform in it, that it might pass for a new Law. All these Alterations occasioned a Division in Mahometism. The greatest Number adhered to the Law, as it had been given by *Mahomet*, and as it had been preserved to them by *Omar*, one of the chief of his Disciples; and the others declared for it as it had been corrected and reformed by *Ali*.

ALI died with Poison, and left two Sons; of whom the eldest, named *Hocen*, came to the same End as his Father. The youngest, named *Husseïn*, succeeding his Brother, suffered Death likewise, as they say, in *Persia*, for defending the Doctrine of his Father *Ali*; but he left twelve Sons, whom the *Persians* revere as so many Prophets of their Law.

ONE of the most famous of the Twelve was *Musa Caim*, or, as some call him, *Moussa Kaizem*; from whom, after a long Series of Generations, they pretend to derive *Sophy*, the first of the Family of this Name, that we know any thing of. Whether he came from *Musa Caim*, or no; for this Descent is not at all proved, and there is too great a Space between the Trunk and the Branches, for us to be sure of any Thing in this respect; it appears, however, very certain, that he was the first that rescued *Ali's* Law from the Obscurity in which it had been buried for many Ages, and made it revive in *Persia*. In order to distinguish *Ali's* Followers from the other Mussulmen, he made an Order, that instead of the Linnen Turbans, commonly worn by the Mussulmen, the others should wear a red woollen Cap with twelve Folds, in Memory of the twelve Children of *Husseïn*; and 'tis on Account of the Colour of their Turbans that the *Tnrks* call them *Red-Heads*. This Restorer of *Ali's* Retormation flourished towards the latter End of the fourteenth Century; and there is all the Reason that can be, to think that when *Tamerlane* returned to *Persia*,
after

after the Defeat of *Bajazet*, he gave those Marks of Esteem and Veneration to *Musa-Caim* that are said to have been conferred on his Son *Guines*, or his Grandson *Schich-Eidar*, whom others call *Heik-Adar*.

BIZARUS, in his History of the *Persian* Affairs, *Lib. 10.* makes this Compliment to *Guines*; but the Fact cannot be reconciled to Chronology without doing Violence to it: Whereas, by ascribing it to *Sophy*, the Father of *Guines*, all Things agree perfectly well. And there's the more Reason for this, because, according to *Bizarus* himself, *Sophy* flourished at the Time that the *Tartars* prevailed over the *Turks*, that is to say, at the Time of *Bajazet's* Defeat by *Tamerlane*.

TAVERNIER, I know not why, makes the same Compliment to *Schich-Eidar*, Son to *Guines*; which is an Error that *Gemelli* has exactly copied from him, without perceiving the Ridiculousness of it.

ACCORDING to those two Travellers, *Tamerlane* returning to *Persia*, after having routed and taken *Bajazet*, gave *Schich-Eidar*, in Consideration of his Virtue and Sanctity, a great Number of Captives that he had taken in the last War. Now *Tamerlane* died in 1402. and *Schich-Eidar* must then be a Man at full Growth: Whereas it appears that *Ismael*, the first King of *Persia* of the *Sophy* Family, and Son to *Schich-Eidar*, was but twenty Years old when he conquered *Persia* in 1499. and but forty-five when he died in 1534. Were we to suppose that *Schich-Eidar* was but twenty-five Years old, which is the least that can be supposed, when the Lustre of his Reputation and Virtue gained him the Marks of *Tamerlane's* Esteem, it would follow that he was above a hundred Years old when he had a Son, who, according to the Testimony of Historians, was not Twenty in 1499. The Truth is, that *Schich-Eidar* cannot be supposed to have seen *Tamerlane*, and that the Thing in Question can hardly be applied even to his Father *Guines*; but that it tallies perfectly with his Grandfather *Sophy*, as I have shewn. To him, therefore,

fore, was it that *Tamerlane* gave the thirty thousand Captives, mentioned by *Bizarus*; and probably this was the same *Sophy* who, after having instructed them in the Principles of his Sect, sent them abroad to preach it Sword-in-Hand, a Method which *Bizarus* himself shews he made use of for the Propagation of his Doctrine.

SOPHY was succeeded in his Zeal for the new Sect by his Son *Guines*, of whom we find nothing considerable, and who is not so much known upon his own personal Account, as for the Merit and Reputation of his Son *Schich-Eidar*, to whom the *Sophy* Family properly owes its first Rise in the State.

SCHICH-EIDAR did not keep to the new Plan of Religion, which his Grandfather had preached up, and which his Father had trained him up in; but reformed it as he thought fit, and made a great many Alterations in it. The edifying Life which he led, and the external Appearance of Regularity and Piety which he affected in his whole Conduct, gained him so great a Reputation, that the People flocked from the very Heart of *Persia*, and the furthest Parts of *Armenia*, to *Ardevil* the Place of his Birth, in order to hear him, and to be instructed in his new Religion. They devoted themselves to it with Zeal; and when once they had embraced it, observed the Rules and Statutes of it, with the most scrupulous and rigid Nicety. They were the more attached to him, because he made them believe that he had a Revelation that no Mussulmen should be saved, but those who follow'd the Doctrine of *Ali*, such as he preach'd it.

THIS was his Manner of preaching at *Ardevil* in his own Country, of which, 'tis said, he was Lord as his Ancestors had been, and from whence he was afterwards called *Hardevil*. But notwithstanding his high Rank and great Estate, in his Manner of Life, he was plain, modest, and even harsh and austere; and manifested a vast Contempt of Honour and Wealth. A Virtue so uncommon and extraordinary made such a Figure in *Persia*, and gained him such a
Repu-

Reputation, that, though he was not of Rank enough to aspire to Affinity with a King, yet *Usum-Cassan*, who, from being Governor of *Armenia*, was made King of *Persia*, by dethroning his Master, and who attained to the peaceable Possession of the Throne he had usurped, chose him preferably to the greatest Noblemen in the Kingdom for his Son-in-Law ; for he gave him his Daughter *Martha*, whom he had by his Marriage with *Despina*, Daughter of *Calo-Jean*, King of *Trebisond* and *Pontus*.

USUM-CASSAN dying in 1478. was succeeded by his third Son *Jacup*, surnamed *Chierzeinal*, i. e. *One-Ey'd*, because he had lost an Eye. The Father had put the eldest to Death for having rebelled against him ; and *Jacup* had poison'd the second, according to some Authors, or, as others say, killed him the very Night that *Usum-Cassan* died, that he might have no Rival in the Throne.

THOUGH he came to it by foul Play, he governed with very great Wisdom and Moderation, to the Satisfaction of all the Provinces : But after he had reigned seven Years he was a Victim to his Queen's Debauchery. His Princess prostituted herself to one of the chief Lords of the Court, whom she loved to Distraction ; and not thinking she did enough for so dear a Gallant to receive him in her Husband's Bed, if she did not place him also upon his Throne, she resolv'd to dispatch *Jacup* by Poison.

FOR this End she prepared a Dose for him, which she offer'd him one Day as he came from bathing. Notwithstanding the Assurance she put on at the very Moment she was acting the Crime, the King her Husband fancying he saw an Air of Confusion in her Countenance, had a Suspicion of her, and requir'd her to drink first. As she could not get off of it without condemning herself, she swallowed the Poison with an affected Intrepidity ; which deceiv'd the King, and so encourag'd him, that after he had drank of it himself, he commended it to the Lips of the Prince

Prince his Son, then with him, who was eight Years of Age. The Poison was so quick, that all three died of it that Night in the Year 1485.

JACUP dying without Issue, *Jularver*, one of the first Men in the Kingdom, and who was somewhat related to him, seiz'd the Throne, and reign'd three Years.

BAYSINGIR succeeded him in 1488. and reign'd till 1490. *Rustan*, a young Nobleman of twenty Years old, sat in the Throne after him, and reign'd seven Years. It was in his Reign that *Schich-Eidar* of *Ardevil* lost his Life in the Manner I am going to tell you.

THOUGH no body had more Right to the Crown than *Schich-Eidar*, on Account of his marrying with the Daughter of *Usum-Cassan*, his Birth was so unsuitable to that high Rank, and so far inferior to the great Men of the Kingdom, that during the Reigns of three Kings, who succeeded one another in five Years, there was not only no Talk about him, but the very Persons who fill'd the Throne, not one of whom had a lawful Right to it, took no Umbrage at the Pretensions he might form to it.

THE first that gave any heed to it was *Rustan*: He began to be alarm'd at the Concourse of the People from all Parts to *Schich-Eidar* at *Ardevil*, to embrace his Religion, and to adhere to his Person: He was afraid that the secret Affection which the *Persians* retain'd in their Hearts for the Race of their Kings, and the Veneration they paid to the Virtue of *Schich-Eidar*, would occasion a Civil War in Favour of a Man that seem'd the more worthy of the Throne, because he set no Value upon it, notwithstanding the just Claim he had to it. Upon this he resolv'd to get rid of him, and employ'd Assassines, who murder'd him at *Ardevil*. He did not stop there, but thinking the new Sect, which *Eidar* went about to establish, even more dangerous to the State than to the *Mussulman* Reli-

Introduction; Or, A short

Religion, he persecuted it to such a Degree, that several who had embrac'd it, abandon'd it.

THESE were the Measures that *Rustan* took to establish himself in the Throne, when after a Reign of seven Years, he was kill'd by *Aghmat*, one of the great Lords of the Kingdom, who taking Advantage of the Kindness shew'd him by *Rustan's* own Mother, made her an Accomplice in his Treason, and got her to consent to the Death of a Son who lov'd her entirly. But *Aghmat* enjoy'd the Throne he had usurp'd no more than six Months, for the Soldiers of *Rustan's* Guard not caring to obey a Man that had kill'd their King, went to *Carabes*, one of *Rustan's* principal Officers, who liv'd at *Van*, to perswade him to revenge their old Master's Death. This Officer having by their means assembled a very considerable Body of Troops, march'd strait to *Tauris*, where having surpriz'd *Aghmat*, who was in no Condition to make Resistance, he put him to Death with Torture. The Throne being vacant by this Usurper's Death, a Nobleman nam'd *Alvante*, who was the nearest a-kin to *Usum-Cassan*, was chose to fill it. Such was the Destiny of *Persia*, from the Death of *Usum-Cassan* and his Son *Jacup*, till at last *Ismael*, the the Son of the famous *Schich-Eidar* of *Ardevil* fix'd in his Family, in the Manner hereafter mention'd, that Sceptre which for a Series of 1400 or 1500 Years had pass'd through so many different Hands.

ISMAEL,

*King of Persia, the First of the Family of the Sophies,
in 1499.*

SCHICH-EIDAR, whom *Rustan*, at that Time King of *Persia*, caus'd to be murder'd at *Ardevil*, left three Sons on his Death-Bed, who would have run the same Hazard as their Father, if they had fallen into that

that Prince's Hands. The two eldest, who were of Age to see their Danger, fled, one to *Asia Minor*, the other to *Aleppo*; *Ismael*, the third of them, who was but a Child, was snatch'd from the Danger by his Father's Friends, who sent him to *Hyrkania*, or *Ghilan*, where they put him under the Protection of a Nobleman, nam'd *Pyrchalim*, a Friend to their Family, who was Master of several Places on the *Caspian Sea*.

PYRCHALIM, who took great Care of his Education, caus'd him to be brought up in the Principles of the Sect of his Father *Schich-Eidar*; and the young Man understanding that this was the best Way to form a great Party, and to gain the Favour of the Populace, of which he had need to support the just Pretensions he had to the Throne, shewed a great Zeal to propagate that new Religion, and to observe it. As he was extremely well made, had a noble and happy Physogmony, and a great Share of Eloquence and Courage; so advantageous an Idea was conceiv'd of his Person, that not only the common People, with whom his Father was so much in Vogue, join'd with him, but those of Quality began to espouse him, to which the Prognosticks his Father had form'd of him, may be said to have contributed not a little. For *Schich-Eidar*, who was a very skilful Astrologer, and whom the People still rever'd as a Saint and a Prophet, ventur'd at one of those Predictions in Favour of *Ismael*, that never hurt such for whose Advantage they are made, and which are often of great Help to them in the Execution of their Projects, by prepossessing the common People in their Favour. He had foretold that this Son should be a great Prophet and Conqueror; and that by his Zeal, and by the Conquest of a great Part of the East, he would one Day equal the Glory of *Mahomet* himself.

As soon as *Ismael* was grown up, and began to appear in the World, his Behaviour was such as could not but confirm the great Hopes they had conceiv'd of him; and by the noble Indifference he shew'd upon all

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Occasions for Government and Grandeur, he chalk'd himself out a Path to it; which was so much the safer, because he seem'd to be the more worthy of it; yet, as an honest Care to recover his Patrimony, was not at all inconsistent with the Disinterestedness which he valued himself for, he made use of this Plea to arm a good Number of his Disciples; and having reinforced them with some Succours which were sent to him from *Pyrchalim*, he enter'd *Armenia*, where the Lands were that *Usum-Cassan* had given his Mother for her Dowry, and took Possession of them by Force of Arms.

THIS first Success, as well as the good Condition of his Troops, gave his Party Reputation, and regain'd him a great Number of his Father's old Disciples, who had been obliged by his Misfortunes and the Persecution to abandon his Sect: As they had all along retain'd their Principles, they devoted themselves to him with the more Zeal. Being reinforced by these new Soldiers, who list'd in his Army, he went and attack'd the Castle of *Marmurlac*, which was full of Riches. After having forc'd and plunder'd it, he led his Army against *Sumach*, the Capital of *Mesopotamia*; which he also took, and gave the Plunder to his Troops.

THE Noise of these first Exploits made his Name so famous, and the Booty which his Soldiers had taken under his Command, was such a Temptation to the Populace of the neighbouring Countries, that they came in from all Quarters to his Standard; and as he found Arms in the Places he had pillag'd, to furnish a great Part of the Multitude who had none, he found himself at the Head of a considerable Army, and in a Capacity to go upon greater Enterprizes than the Attack of Towns and Castles; He flatter'd himself from that Time with Ideas of the most shining Fortune, and proposing to himself no less than the entire Conquest of *Persia*; he carried his Army towards *Tauris*, which was then the capital City, and where

where *Alvante*, lately placed upon the Throne, as we said before, had his Residence.

THIS Prince was but just rid of the Confusion of a Civil War, in which he had been engag'd with *Moratcham* his Brother, or as some will have it, his Son, who disputed the Crown with him, and who having lost a Battle, fled out of the Dominions of *Persia* and *Armenia*. The Persecutions and Cruelties which *Alvante* exercised after his Victory, against several of the chief Families of *Tauris*, who had taken Part with his Competitor, gave *Ismael* a very fair Opportunity; for being inform'd how ill the King was belov'd in that City, where there was scarce a Family but had felt the Effects of his Vengeance, he hasten'd his March, and no sooner came before the Town; but the Gates were open'd to him. King *Alvante*, who not expecting this Irruption into his Capital, was destitute of all the necessary Forces to hold out a Siege, and who knew, besides, that he had as many Enemies in the City as there were Inhabitants, fled at the Approach of the Army, and retir'd towards *Armenia*. *Ismael* enter'd with Triumph into *Tauris*, without shedding any Blood, but that of some of the fugitive King's Guards, who did not make haste enough to follow him; so that by the most fortunate Event in the World, he was immediately Master of the chief City of the Kingdom, without drawing a Sword.

NEVERTHELESS he was not so puffed up with his good Fortune, but that he consider'd, that as long as King *Alvante* was alive, he should not be absolute in *Persia*. He made the more haste to pursue him, because he heard that the two Brothers being reconcil'd, to repel their common Enemy, *Moratcham*, who was raising Troops in *Assyria* towards *Babylon*, was preparing to go and join his Brother *Alvante*, who was already at the Head of a great Army in *Armenia*; *Ismael* prevented them from joining, and having surpriz'd *Alvante*, defeated him in a Battle, in which the Prince himself was kill'd, fighting

at the Head of his Troops. *Moratcham*, who was just coming to join his Brother, hearing of his Defeat and Death, carried his Army towards *Tauris*, in order to take Possession of it ; but *Ismael* being inform'd of his Design, met him half Way, totally routed him, and put him to Flight. This was in the Year 1499. which is reckon'd the First of *Ismael's* Reign.

MORATCHAM retiring for Protection to *Aladul*, King of *Cappadocia*, *Ismael* entered that King's Dominions the next Year, viz. 1500. with an Army of 70000 Men, but had no great Success, his Forces suffering there very much from the Severity of the Season, and the Scarcity of Provisions. He returned thither the Year following with an Army of 40000 Men, and defeated *Aladul* and *Moratcham* near *Babylon*. *Moratcham* fled to the Sultan of *Egypt*, and returned to *Persia* no more. *Aladul*, retired to *Cappadocia* ; and *Ismael* improving his Victory, reduced *Babylon*, *Mesopotamia*, and all the neighbouring Provinces to his Obedience.

ISMAEL having no more Enemies to think of, marched against the *Albanians*, the *Iberians*, (now the *Georgians*,) and the *Tartars*, who for four Years past had not paid Tribute to *Persia*, to which he obliged them again to submit. Then he turned his Arms against the King of *Samarcand*, a very powerful Prince, and gained a more signal Victory over him, than all he had won yet, which alarmed the Sultan of *Egypt*, and even the Grand-Seignior, who was then *Bajazet II.*

HE warred with him, and *Selym* his Successor. The first War was only carried on between their Lieutenants. In the second, *Selym* came in Person, and took *Tauris* from *Ismael* ; but at the Noise of his Approach, *Selym* was obliged to retreat with Precipitation ; and, though he had the Advantage over *Ismael* by Means of his Artillery, in which the *Turks*, at that time, were much better skilled than the *Persians*,
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he lost so many Men in this War, and the Janizaries were so discouraged at it, that they feared nothing so much as that they should be obliged to make War in *Persia*. As the *Turks* had the Advantage in Artillery, *Ismael* had better Troops than his, which were so zealously and inviolably attach'd to him, that, during these Wars, though a great Number of Deserters came from the *Turks* Camp to that of the *Persians*, who were by that Means informed of the State of the Enemy's Army, never any *Persian* deserted from *Ismael's* Camp to that of the *Turks*. Moreover the *Persians* were prepossessed with so high an Esteem for *Ismael*, that they looked upon him as a Man altogether divine, thought they had nothing to fear while they fought under his Orders, and braved the greatest Dangers, and Death itself, with an unshaken Intrepidity; so that he held out to the very last, against all the Efforts of the *Turks*, who could never recover an Inch of all the Ground that he had conquered. He died in 1525. at forty-five Years of Age, a quiet Possessor of one of the largest and most powerful Monarchies in the World; and reputed one of the greatest and most famous Kings that ever ruled in the East. He left four Sons, of whom *Thamas* the Eldest, that we are now to treat of, was his Successor in the Throne, the three others having had each their particular Appanage, as settled by *Ismael*.

T H A M A S,

*Son of ISMAEL, second King of the Family of the
Sophies, in 1525.*

WERE we to judge of this second King of the *Sophies*, according to the Picture which *Olearius*, and some others, have drawn of him, he was a very sorry Original: But *Bizarus*, in his History of *Persia*, and *Chalcondile* in that

of the *Turks*, give us a better Character of him, though they agree as to the Faults which others charge him with. To form a solid Judgment of this Prince, 'tis necessary to consider him in two Views, namely in Peace, and in War. In the first of these Views, he was a very bad King, covetous of his Subjects Wealth, committing the most crying Acts of Injustice, from the Temptation of trifling Profit, and abandoning the Government wholly to his Ministers, while he devoted himself entirely to Ease and Pleasure, shut up in his Haram, where he was once ten Years together, and never went abroad.

BUT if we consider him in the second View, that is to say, in the Times of Disturbance and War, he will be a very great Gainer; for though he had no intrepid Valour, nor all the Capacity of *Ismael* his Father, and though the *Turks* took *Babylon* from him, with *Mesopotamia* and *Assyria*; yet he conducted himself like an able Prince in his Wars; and if he had but behaved as well in Time of Peace, he would not have been much to blame.

THAMAS was but eighteen Years of Age when he succeeded to the Crown in 1525. He had three Brothers, *Helcas*, *Becram*, and *Sormisa*, each of whom had his Appanage settled on them by the King their Father. *Helcas* had for his Share *Assyria*, and *Mesopotamia*, with the City of *Babylon*. *Becram*, had *Media*, *Georgia*, and *Albania*, toward the *Caspian-Sea*. *Sormisa* had *Parthia*, which is now the Province of *Corasjan*.

BUT all these Appanages were joined afterwards to the Crown of *Persia*, by the Death of those Princes. *Helcas* revolting during the Wars with the *Turks*, was taken by the Troops of the King his Brother, who put him to Death: *Thamas* got rid of the second Brother after the same Manner, for fear he should rebel; and the third died a natural Death.

THAMAS reigned nine Years, without any considerable War to carry on abroad: But in 1534. *Soly-*

man being partly encouraged by *Ulama*, a *Persian* Nobleman, and Brother-in-Law to *Thamas*, who came to him for Protection, marched with his Army, against *Persia*, and advanced as far as *Tauris*, which he took without committing any Disorder in it. From thence he advanced to *Sultania*, a City which was formerly the Residence of the Kings of *Persia*, and which *Tamerlane* had used very ill. *Solyman* II. halting for some time in the Neighbourhood of that City, was dislodged from thence by one of the most furious Storms that History makes mention of. He returned towards *Affyria*, where he made himself Master of *Babylon*, and caused himself to be crowned King of *Persia* by the Califf of that City, to whom that Function appertained in Quality of Sovereign Pontiff of the Mahometan Religion. After this Conquest, all the Cities of *Affyria* and *Mesopotamia*, opened their Gates to *Solyman*, who also reduced *Curdistán*, and *Diarbeck* under his Obedience. He spent the Winter at *Babylon*, and with the Reinforcement of the Troops that came to him from *Egypt* and *Syria*, he returned towards *Tauris*. *Thamas*, who took Post in that City after *Solyman*'s Departure, marched off at the Approach of the Army, as he had done the Year before, and retired to the Mountains to watch for an Opportunity of surprizing the Enemies Army. But as he left *Tauris* this Year 1535. he made such great Spoil in all the neighbouring Provinces, that the Enemy's Army being almost starved, was obliged to quit *Persia*. *Thamas*, who was again just entered into *Tauris*, where *Solyman* had laid all Places waste this second Time, gave the Command of his Troops to *Deliment*, a brave *Caramenian*, who pursued and overtook the *Turks* near *Betlis*, on the left Side of the Lake of *Van*, upon the 13th of *October*, where surprizing them in the Disorder of a Retreat, when they least of all expected it, he cut them in Pieces, and gained one of the compleatest Victories over them, that the *Persians* ever had over the *Turks*. Though *Solyman* had

taken *Affyria* and *Mesopotamia* from *Persia*, these Conquests cost him so dear that he repented he ever undertook them; and at his Return to *Constantinople* put to Death *Ibrahim Pacha* his Favourite, who had been the Instigator of that War. 'Tis reckon'd that out of 500000 Men, who passed the *Euphrates* to attack *Persia*, not 80000 returned to *Constantinople*.

AFTER this Loss, *Solyman* left *Persia*, and *Thamas* in Peace till 1548. when the War broke out again between those two Powers, upon Account of *Bajazet*, Son to *Solyman*, who fled for Refuge to *Persia*, and whom *Thamas* would not surrender to *Solyman*, when he demanded him. *Solyman* took the Field with an Army of 200000 Men. *Thamas*, who had above 100000, having obtained of the *Portuguese*, at that Time very powerful in *Asia*, a Body of 10000 Men of their Nation, with twenty Pieces of Cannon, met with the *Turks* on the Bank of the *Euphrates*, whom he attacked in Person, and by the Valour of the *Portuguese*, entirely defeated. *Solyman* himself, who was wounded in this Battle, lost 130000 Men there, besides several Thousands, who died, either of their Wounds, or of Poverty and Misery in the Retreat. This Battle was fought in 1549. A Peace was concluded soon after at the Expence of *Bajazet's* Life, whom *Thamas*, at the Demand of *Solyman*, put to Death. This Turkish Emperor dying in 1556. was succeeded by his Son *Selym II.* with whom *Thamas* renewed the Peace he had made with *Solyman*. Affairs remained in that State all the rest of the Reign of *Thamas*, who died in 1576. aged about Sixty-eight. He was of a middle Stature, very robust of Body, had a tawny Complexion, and pretty wide Lips. He fixed his Residence at *Casbin*, abandoning *Tauris*, which had ever been the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the usual Seat of the Kings his Predecessors. What gave him a Disgust of that Place was, that as it lay near *Ardevil*, where he was born, he did not care to be in a City, where he might be often put in Mind of
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the mean Condition of *Schich-Eidar* his Grandfather. He nominated for his Successor *Caidar Mirizes*, the third of his Sons, a Youth of seventeen Years of Age, whom he tenderly loved, and who was already as Lieutenant-General to the King his Father, over all the Kingdom. But the *Persian* Grandees, who did not like this Choice paid no Regard to it, and offered the Crown to *Codabende*, the eldest Son, who was at that time in the Province of *Corasán*. But he refusing it, they gave it to *Ismael*, the second Son of *Thamas*, of whom we are now to give an Account.

ISMAEL II.

Son of THAMAS, Third King of the Family of the Sophies, in 1575.

HE was forty-three Years of Age, and actually a Prisoner, when, upon the Refusal of *Codabende*, his elder Brother, he was placed upon the Throne. This Prince, who delighted in War, in which he was well versed, and very fortunate, had opposed the Enterprizes of the *Turkish Pachas*, who, notwithstanding the Truce betwixt *Persia* and the Grand-Seignior, took the Liberty to make several Incursions into the King's Territories. He beat them in three considerable Rencounters; in one of which he cut in Pieces the Troops of the Pacha of *Erzeron*, who narrowly escaped with his Life. Instead of placing these Actions to the Account of his Services, they went for Crimes at Court, where *Maessum Bech*, who did not care for him, and had the Ear of *Thamas* more than any other of his Ministers, put an odious Construction upon them, by representing to the King that *Ismael's* raising Troops, and making War of his own Head in a Time of Truce, was something too presuming for a young Prince, who could do no more if he

had the Scepter in his Hands. He added that *Ismael* already thought himself independent ; and in order to give the King his Father such Proofs of it, as might astonish him, he put into his Hands several of this young Princes Letters, whereby he solicited the Governors of the Places in his Neighbourhood to join with him in a War against the *Turks*, notwithstanding the Truce. There needed nothing more to alarm the suspicious Temper of the Father, who by the Advice of his Minister, caused the Prince *Ismael* his Son to be arrested, and clapped him up in the Fort of *Kabkae*, near *Ardevil*, the same where Prince *Helcas*, the King's Brother, was Prisoner, when he was put to Death. *Ismael* was kept under strict Confinement there several Years. The King his Father, who loved him, and did Justice to his Merit, was tempted several Times to restore him to his Liberty, and would have done it, if those same great Qualities which he esteemed him for, and the Affection of the People, who were extremely prepossessed in his Favour, had not made him jealous that he would dethrone him. This Surmise made the greater Impression on the King, because it was artfully fomented by the Great Men of the Court, and by the Governors of the Provinces, who were jealous of *Ismael's* haughty proud Spirit, and afraid that if ever he came to be their Master, he would turn them out of their Governments, and put his Confidants in their Places. Mean while the King his Father, afraid to do any Thing more for him, endeavoured at least to make his Prison comfortable to him, by sending him very pretty Women. But the Prince never went near them ; and sent to acquaint the King his Father, that for his own part he was very easy under his Confinement ; but he did not know whether he should have Fortitude enough to bear the Imprisonment of his Children, in case he had any ; and that he had rather have none, than live to see them miserable. To this he added, that Pleasures of that Nature were not calculated for Men reduced to that State of Slavery which he laboured under.

T H I S

THIS was the Disposition of his Mind, when he was translated on a sudden from a Prison to a Throne; which when he ascended, he verify'd what was formerly said with Respect to *Tiberius*, that Princes who come to it by such Steps are generally cruel. For he began his Reign by putting his Brother *Caidar Mirises* to Death. Then being curious to discover which of the *Grande*s had periwaded the King his Father to keep him so long in Prison, he made use of the very Stratagem that *Usum-Cassan* had formerly employ'd with Success to catch his eldest Son, who was in Rebellion against him: He shut himself up for a few Days in his Palace, and would suffer none but some of his most trusty Domesticks to see him. After some time he ordered them to give out that he was dead, and to make all the Ceremonies and Preparations usually made in the like Cases. Every thing succeeded to his Wish: Those who were disaffected to him, thinking him really dead, did not dissemble their Sentiments with regard to a King from whom they thought they had nothing more to fear. The King who had his Spies and Eve-Droppers, was informed of every thing; and, as soon as he appeared again in publick, caused some to be taken up, while others, conscious of their Guilt, ran away to the Extremities of the Kingdom. The King, being informed of it, presently mounted his Horse to pursue them with what Cavalry he had. The *Turks*, who knew that he was advancing to the Frontier, were alarmed, and construing his March as a Declaration of War, took the Field, and made Incursions into the King's Territories. *Ismael* was vexed at this Disappointment; and that he might not have two different Wars to carry on at the same time, one abroad against the *Turks*, the other at home against the Great Men, because of the Jealousy he had given them, he put such of the latter as he most suspected to Death, and prepared for a War with the *Turks*; during which he was poisoned by his Sister *Persanconcona*, at the Instigation of the Great Men of the Kingdom, and of
his

his own Brothers, who dreaded his Cruelty. He died
in 1577.

MAHOMET CODABENDE,

Son of THAMAS, and elder Brother to ISMAEL II.
fourth King of the Family of the Sophies, in 1577.

AFTER the Death of *Ismael II.* the Great Men of the Kingdom sent another Deputation to *Codabende*, who still remained in the Province of *Corassan*, to press him to accept of the Crown. He excused himself for a Time, but at last yielded to the vigorous Instances of the Deputies, and repairing to *Casbin*, was there proclaimed King to the great Satisfaction of the whole Kingdom, which was very much prepossessed in Favour of a Prince, whom they thought the more worthy of the Throne, because he had refused it.

AUTHORS speak so variously of him, that 'tis a hard Matter to form a certain Judgment of him. *Bizarus* who wrote his History in the Life-time of this Prince, speaks of him in *Lib. xi.* as of a King who proposed to himself to imitate such of the Kings, his Predecessors, as had the Honour of the Kingdom, and the Augmentation of its Power most at Heart. *Olearius*, who travelled in *Persia* in the Reign of *Sefi* his Great-Grandson, and about fifty Years after his Death, pretends, that the *Persian* Authors say, on the contrary, that never Prince held a Scepter with more Indolence; that his whole Delight was to shut himself up in his Palace, and to spend his Time in Gaming, and with the Ladies; that he had no good Success in War; and that the Enemies of the State, that is to say, the *Turks* on the one hand, and the *Usbecks* on the other, taking the Advantage of his Weakness, took away several Provinces from the Crown, which they kept during

ring his whole Reign. *Chalcondile*, when he mentions his Accession to the Crown, gives very near the same Account of him; but when he comes to Particulars, he is in more than one Instance almost as favourable to him as *Bizarus*.

THERE'S all the Appearance in the World that he had the Sentiments which *Bizarus* ascribes to him; and 'tis certain, that if he had been as effeminate and silly as the Author and his Enemies represent him to be, he could not have conducted himself with so much Skill and Success, as he did in the War which he was engaged in with the *Turks*, during the whole Course of his Reign. 'Tis true, that as he had naturally weak Eyes, not from a red-hot Plate of Gold held against them by Order of his Brother *Ismael*, (for neither *Bizarus*, nor *Chalcondile*, nor *Olearius*, speak of it,) but from a Defect of Nature, or some Fit of Sickneſs, he carried on the War against them more by his Lieutenants, than by himself, and generally shut himself up in his Palace; which perhaps is the Reason that he was reckoned, though unjustly, to be a Prince of fewer Abilities than he was really possessed of.

HE began his Reign with the Death of three of his Brothers, who fled away presently towards the *Turks* Frontier; but he allur'd them to Court by fine Promises, and then put them to Death. Being engaged in a War with the *Turks*, in the very first Year of his Reign, he gave the Command of his Army to his eldest Son, who immediately took from them the City of *Van*, upon the Confines of *Armenia*, and gained a great Victory over them in 1577.

HE afterwards obtained another more considerable Victory near *Babylon*, where, 'tis said, the *Turks* had 70000 Men killed. They lost 80000 more upon another Occasion; when, however, the *Persians* dearly purchased the Victory by the Loss of 44000 Men on their Side: But they retook the City of *Szamachi*, which the *Turks* had lately taken in *Schirvan*, a Province that lies on the West Side of the *Caspian Sea*. This happened in 1578.

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THE *Turks* received another more fatal Shock the Year following. They had sent 25000 Horse and 7000 Camels to a Plain abounding with Forage, in order to refresh them, with 30000 Men to guard them. The *Persians* who were but four Days March from that Place, being informed of the Negligence and Security to which those Troops abandoned themselves, went and surpris'd them in the Night-time, and gave them such a total Rout, that, 'tis said, neither Man, Horse, nor Camel escaped. *Mustapha*, the Grand Visier, who commanded the *Ottoman Army* was recalled to *Constantinople*, and being deposed, was his own Executioner.

SINAN PACHA, who succeeded him, was sent to *Persia* to command the Army. But as a Grand Visier likes better to stay at *Constantinople*, than to have any Commission, how honourable soever, he was so pressing for his Return, that by the Favour of a *Persian* Ambassador, who came to his Camp to make Proposals of Peace to him, he obtained Leave from *Amwrath III.* to return to *Constantinople*, and to carry the *Persian* Ambassador thither with him, which he did in 1582. *Mahomet Pacha*, who was sent in his Place, was not more fortunate than the other Generals who served in that War before him. He was entirely routed in *Georgia* by the *Persians* and *Georgians* in Conjunction, and lost all his Baggage. *Chalcondile* himself owns all these Advantages of the *Persians* over the *Turks*, who indeed took some Places from them, but paid very dear for them by the great Number of Men they lost upon all those Occasions, and others afterwards; from whence 'tis natural to infer, that a Prince who was capable of carrying on so sharp a War, and with so much Success as *Codabende* did, during his whole Reign, was not so contemptible as some Historians have made him. He died in 1585. and left three Sons. The two first reigned a few Months only, and the Third, who was *Abas* the Great, many Years. Most of the Authors who treat of the Kings of the Family of the *Sophies*, make no Mention of the two former, and consequently

ly do not rank them in the Number of Kings. But I thought fit to give them that Place upon the Authority of *Olearius*, who having resided some Time at the Court of *Persia*, nine Years after the Death of *Schab-Abas* the Great, could not but be well informed of what he says relating to the Fate of this Prince's two elder Brothers.

EMIR HEMSE,

The eldest Son of CODABENDE, Fifth King of the Family of the Sophies, in 1585.

HE succeeded his Father as the Eldest of his Children; but *Ismael* having gained the Grandees of the Court to consent to his Death, caused him to be murder'd in his very Chamber by Assassines, who in the Disguise of Women deceived the King's Guards. *Olearius* says, he reigned eight Months, as well as *Ismael* his Successor; which wou'd make a Year and four Months for both: Wherein he manifestly contradicts himself; because by making *Abas* the last of the three Brothers to reign the same Year that *Codabende* died, *i. e.* 1585. 'tis impossible that his two elder Brothers should have sixteen Months Reign between them. All that can be said, is, that they reigned a very short Time; but how long, cannot be exactly determined.

ISMAEL III.

Second Son of CODABENDE, Sixth King of the Family of the Sophies, in 1585.

HE was no sooner got upon the Throne by the Murder of one Brother, than he thought to secure the Possession of it, by dispatching his youngest Brother

Brother *Mirza Abas*; but he was prevented by the latter's Governor *Mursched-Kuli-Kan*, who being sensible that his own Life depended on his Master's, engaged some *Grandeess* of the Court to dispatch *Ismael*; and, for that Purpose, they employ'd his *Valet de Chambre* and Barber, who, while he was shaving him, cut his Throat. The Lords who were present at this Execution, and Accomplices of it, killed the *Valet de Chambre* that very Instant to prevent Discovery. Thus *Ismael's* Reign was almost as short as his elder Brother's; and he let the Crown to *Abas*, who took Possession of it without any Rival.

ABAS the Great,

Third Son of CODABENDE, and Seventh King of the Family of the Sophies, in 1585.

THIS Prince in the Life-time of the King his Father, resided at *Heri*, or *Herat*, a Town of *Corassan*, governing what belonged to *Persia* in that Province. *Codabende's* Prime Minister *Mirza-Salmas*, who did not love him, and only meant to sacrifice him to the Interest of the Prince *Emir Hemse* his Son-in-Law, made the King believe that *Abas* was in Rebellion against him, and aimed at the Crown; and advised him to go and besiege him in *Heri*, in order to make sure of his Person. *Abas*, who was informed of it, and was always very submissive to the King his Father, sent him two Lords, who were his trusty Friends, and went and made an Offer to the King of their Heads, in case that *Abas* should appear guilty of the least Disobedience. The Affair being strictly examined according to the Informations which the King ordered throughout the Province, and Parts adjacent, *Abas* was proved to be innocent, and the Prime Minister, on

on the contrary, being found guilty, had his Head cut off.

THIS Prince was the greatest King that had been in *Persia* for many Ages; and his Memory is held in the highest Veneration there to this Day. He was but eighteen Years of Age, when he ascended the Throne. Though at that Time he gave great Hopes of what he would be one Day, he even surpassed all Expectation; and, excepting some Acts of Cruelty, for which he may justly be reproached, he had all the Qualifications of a great Prince. He gave full Indication in the Instances of his Reign, that he was not of a Humour to be governed; for *Mursched-Kuli-Kan*, who had been his Governor in his Youth, and to whom he owed the Crown, valuing himself too much on his Services, and still pretending to controul him, rendered himself so odious to *Abas*, that this Prince, after having given him the first Blow himself, caused him to be dispatched by one of that Lord's Grooms, who came thither upon hearing the Noise, and whom the King rewarded with the Title of Kan, and the Government of *Herat*; and next Day he caused all the Friends and Relations of the Deceased to be put to Death, that he might never be uneasy under the Apprehension of what they might do by way of Revenge.

THE too cruel Severity which he exercised in this Instance upon the Man to whom he had greater and more substantial Obligations, than to all Men living, convinced all the Grandees that they had to do with a Sovereign that would govern by himself, and whose Ministers should be meer Ministers, that is to say, always very dependant and subordinate.

FINDING upon his Accession to the Crown that the Kingdom was very much wasted by the Conquests which the *Turks* had made on one Side, and the *Usbeck-Tartars* on the other, he resolved from that Moment to recover the Possession of all the Provinces that had been taken from it. He began with the Province of *Corassan*, situate on the South-East of the *Caspian Sea*,
of

of which *Persia* had only a little Corner remaining, where he himself had commanded during his Father's Reign. He made himself Master of the greatest Part of this Province to one End of it, from which he obliged *Abdulla*, Prince of the *Usbecks*, to retire, by forcing him back to *Meszat*, or *Mesched*, a Place become so famous since, by the Pilgrimage which this very *Abas* established thither, and which serves the *Persians* instead of the Pilgrimage to *Mecca*. After having staid in this Province three Years to confirm his Dominion there, *Abdulla* made an Effort to get into it again: But the Enterprize was fatal to him; for his Army was entirely defeated; and falling into the Conquerors Hands, together with his Brother *Tilem-Kam*, and his three Sons, *Abas* caused all their Heads to be cut off.

AFTER having secured *Corassan* by this Execution, and by the good Order he established there, he turned his Arms against the *Turks*; from whom he had much more to reconquer, and who were Enemies much more powerful, and more formidable than the *Usbecks*. As to the Events of this War, I will not enter into a Detail which is not consistent with a short History, and which would require a large Volume, but shall mention enough to give the Reader a true Idea of the Splendor and Power, which *Schah-Abas* then re-established in *Persia*, of which he was afterwards, with just Reason, deem'd the *Restorer*.

IT must be supposed, in the first Place, that the *Turks* had conquered from *Persia*, since the Death of *Ismael I.* at least one hundred and fifty Leagues in Length from South to North, reckoning from *Tauris* to the Extremities of the Kingdom of *Caket*, and as much more in Breadth, from the Western Coast of the *Caspian Sea* to the *Black Sea*, that is to say, as much as they and the *Muscovites* have conquered of it in the late Revolution. 'Tis true, that they have now pushed their Conquests farther into the Heart of *Persia*, where they are Masters of the Country, as far as *Amadan*,
which

which is above seventy Leagues South of *Tauris*; but, besides the Western Coast of the *Caspian Sea*, which they don't possess at this Day, though they were Masters of it at that Time, they had also taken from *Persia* the Village of *Bagdat*, or *Babylon*, with all *Mesopotamia* and *Affyria*.

SCHAH-ABAS retook all those Countries during his Reign; and besides that, he conquer'd from the *Turks* a great many Places upon the *Black Sea*, and even a Harbour near *Trebisond*. He took as many along the *Red Sea* to the Ocean, reckoning from the Mouth of the *Euphrates*. He took *Balsora* in the *Persian Gulph*, and carried his Conquests so far into *Arabia*, from whence he thought to drive out every *Turk*, that he actually seiz'd *Medina*, a Town famous for having been the Residence of the Prophet *Mahomet*. He also took the Isle of *Ormuz* from the *Portuguese*, and very much weakened their Power in the *Indies*. In short, consider him only on the Foot of his military Atchievements, he may pass for one of the greatest Captains that ever was in *Persia*.

BUT as by all these great Feats of Arms, he shewed himself an able Soldier, he discovered that he had yet greater Talents as a Statesman, by the Measures he took to make himself absolute in his Kingdom, and to civilize it. He was the first that, as we may say, made the Kings of *Persia* free Men.

WHEN he came to the Crown, Part of the Kingdom was, as it were, parcell'd among twenty petty Princes, who had each the Sovereignty of the Countries they had usurp'd, and supported one another in a total Independency on the Kings of *Persia*. These Kings were not absolute, as they have been since: They depended on the *Grandeess*, and the Troops, which though maintain'd at their Expence, prescrib'd Laws to them sometimes, depos'd them, and actually took away their Lives. *Schah-Abas* having resolved to establish a System of despotick and arbitrary Government

vernment in his Kingdom, such as it has been since his Time, he made it his Business to ruin the Veteran Troops, and the antient Families of the Country. He gain'd his Point by the gradual Destruction of the *Courtches*, from whom those Families were descended, and of which consisted that Body of Militia which was most formidable to the Kings; but he did not take off the Mask in this Respect, till after he had fill'd his Court and his Troops with those People that inhabited the Northern Extremities of *Persia*, as the *Georgians*, and other adjacent Countries; for being originally Christians, they were naturally Enemies to the *Courtches*, as descended from those antient *Turcomans* and *Saracens*, so famous in History for their Invasions, and for all the Mischiefs which they formerly did the Christians. In the mean time he kept fair with the Grandees, of whom he stood in need in his War he made against the *Turks*. But *Sefi*, his Grandson and Successor, finish'd the Scheme on that Side of which he had only form'd the Plan. As to the ancient Militia of the *Courtches*, though it has subsisted ever since, yet the Kings of *Persia*, Successors of him whom we are now treating of, hath always kept that Body so much under, that they were never in a Condition to give them the least Uneasiness. From him also they learn'd, according to the Method of the *Turks*, to trust the Ministry and great Offices of the Kingdom, in the Hands only of Foreigners, who being originally Slaves, are not attach'd by the Ties of Blood, either to their Equals, or to the Grandees of the Kingdom; so that the Government which was antiently very temperate, is by his Management become despotick and absolute to such a Degree, that it may be said, that there is not, perhaps, in the Universe, a King that is more Master of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects, than was *Schah-Abat* and his Successors.

IN the Midst of so much Glory and Power, so great and so well establish'd, he had the Misfortune to entertain unjust Suspicions of his own Children. Of three Sons that he had, he caus'd the Eyes of the two Youngest to be bored out, reserving the Eldest nam'd *Sefi Myrza*, to be his Successor; but this young Prince having a Son nam'd *Sain-Murza*, *Schah-Abas* who saw *Sefi-Mirza* of Age to succeed him, and did not doubt, but the Grandees to whom he had render'd himself odious, during the whole Course of his Reign, would assist the young Prince to dethrone him if he should offer to undertake it, thought he could not be safe against Alarms, but by putting him to Death. The Blow was no sooner struck, but he sorely repented it. He shut himself up for ten Days in a dark Place, and shed Tears incessantly: He put on Mourning for a whole Year, and during the Remainder of his Life, wore the plainest Habits, without any Ornament.

IN 1629. he fell into a dangerous Fit of Illness, and finding his End drawing near, he nominated for his Successor, his Grandson *Sain-Mirza*, charging four of his Prime Officers, that he could most confide in, to instal him in the Throne after his Death, and to make him take the Name of *Sefi*, which was the Name of his Father. Those Lords telling him at that Time of a Prophecy which some Astrologers had made, that this young Prince would reign but three Months at most; *Let him reign as long as he can, says he, though it be but three Days; I shall be glad of the Assurance, that one Day, at least, he will have that Crown upon his Head which was due to the Prince his Father.*

WITH this Grief for the Death of his Son, he expir'd about the Close of the Year 1629. with the Reputation of one of the greatest Princes that ever reign'd in *Persia*, and leaving to his Successors such Examples and Lessons as most of them have made a very ill Use of. He died at *Ferabad* in the Province of *Mazanderan*, to the South of the *Caspian Sea*, a Town

which he had built on the Sea-Side, and the Place which he delighted in most throughout his whole Kingdom. He was sixty three Years of Age, and had reign'd forty five. But it may be observ'd in the Conduct of the *Aghvans*, who are now Masters of the Kingdom, that by destroying the Nobility of *Persia* and the antient Militia of that Nation, they have only follow'd the Maxims and Example of *Schah-Abas*, and that they have treated the *Modern* Nobility just as *Schah-Abas*, and *Schah-Sefi* his Successor, did the antient Nobility and the *Courtches*.

S E F I,

Son to the Prince SEFI-MURZA, and Grandson to Abas the Great, the Eighth King of the Family of the Sophies, in 1629.

BEFORE the Reign of *Schah-Abas*, the Children of the Kings of *Persia* appear'd at Court with Freedom. They were also employ'd, and had Governments given them when they came of Age. But after the Death of *Mirza-Sefi*, who was a Sacrifice to the Jealousy of the King his Father, this Prince alter'd that Method, and caus'd his Grandson to be educated in a Manner which was afterwards a Rule for the Education of all the King's Sons, that is to say, he kept him shut up in the *Haram*, where he had no Conversation but with the Eunuchs. He was only taught to read and write; and all his Diversions were shooting with the Bow, and riding upon an As in the Gardens. *Schah-Abas* was so much on his Guard against this young Prince, though he was of too tender Years to undertake any thing against him, that 'tis said, that for fear he had more Wit than he wish'd him to have, he made him take Opium every Day to stupify him.

W H E T H E R *Schah-Sefi* had Memorials and Instructions from the King his Grandfather and Predecessor, to cut off the chief Men of the Kingdom, or
whether

whether he followed the Cruelty of his natural Temper, 'tis certain, that there has not been in *Persia* a more cruel and bloody Reign than his. 'Tis said that he came into the World with two Hands full of Blood, and that *Schah-Abas* prognosticated from thence, that he would live to bathe his Hands in Blood; which was but too much verified in the Sequel.

HE began his Cruelties with an only Brother, whose Eyes he caus'd to be bored out. He cast headlong from a Rock, his two Uncles, the younger Brothers of his Father *Mirza-Sefi*, the same whose Eyes *Schah-Abas* had bored out, and kept Prisoner in a Castle. The Reason he alledged was, that those Princes being blind, were therefore good for nothing in the World. He likewise put to Death not only such of the great Lords, as he in any Manner suspected, but also many of those that were the most attached to his Family, and who having been the chief Ministers of the late King his Grandfather, had the greatest Share of his Esteem and Confidence.

I SHALL not enter into a longer Detail of the Cruelties, of which his Reign was one continued Series. They had rendered him so odious even to those who had most Access to him, that they conspired against him in his very Haram; and in the Midst of his Wives and Concubines, it was resolved to poison him: And the Thing was executed; but the Quality or the Dose of Poison not being strong enough to do his Business, he was no sooner cured of his Illness at two Months End, but after great Enquiry he found that the Poison had been prepared in the Haram, and that his Aunt, the Widow of one of the chief Officers of the Court, whom he had put to Death, had formed the Conspiracy, and conducted it through. The Night after he was informed of all these Particulars, terrible Shrieks were heard in the Haram, and next Day it was known, that, after he had ordered a great Ditch to be made in the Garden, he had buried there all alive forty Women that had a Hand in the

Conspiracy; of which Number, 'tis said, his own Mother was one; and that it was only to cover the Horror of this Fact that a Report was spread at the same Time, that she was dead of the Plague.

BESIDES, this Prince had no considerable Virtue that would counterballance his Vices; for, though he pretended to Courage, there was more of Rashness than true Valour in his Military Conduct; and though in the first Years of his Reign, he caused the *Turks* to raise the Siege at *Bagdat*, and took *Eriwan* by Storm, he was more obliged for those Exploits to the Capacity and good Conduct of his Generals, than to his own Skill and Prudence. He lost two of the most important Places of his Frontiers, *Candahar* and *Bagdat*, the one on the East, and the other on the West, merely by his own Folly. The Reader will find in the first Part of this Work how he lost the former; and I shall here acquaint him how he came to lose the other.

THERE was at *Bagdat* a very worthy Governor named *Sefi-Kuli-Kan*, originally of *Armenia*. This brave Commander had before held out two Sieges against the *Turks* with Success, and still commanded in the Place, when *Amurath*, the Grand Seignior, came to besiege it in 1638. *Schah-Sefi*, instead of trusting to a Man of his Experience for the Defence of this important Place, thought fit to send one of his Favourites thither, to whom he gave the Government of it. The old Governor finding himself turned out, to make Room for a worthless young Fellow, was so sensible of the Affront, that he chose to take Poison rather than survive it, and made his Wife and his Son do the same. The Garrison, to whom their old Commander was dear, had no Courage to fight under the Command of a new one; but, rebelling against him, capitulated with *Amurath* for the Surrender of the Place; which he had no sooner entered, but he put all the *Persians* to the Sword. Thus did *Bagdat*, which was taken by *Schah-Abas* from the *Turks* twenty Years

Years before, relapse into their Hands, where it has remain'd ever since.

WHEN *Schah-Sefi* succeeded to the Thorne, he was so chilled by the Opium which his Grandfather made him to mix with his Food, that the Physicians prescribed the Use of Wine to give him Warmth. He took such a Fancy to it, that 'twas one of his greatest Pleasures to drink to Excess; and his Cruelty was never more to be dreaded than when he was in that Condition. He meddled very little with Affairs of the Government, passing his whole Life with his Bottle, his Wives, or in Hunting, so that had it not been for the numerous Cruelties, which stained his Reign with Blood, it would have been scarce perceivable that he ever was King. He died 1642. after a Reign of twelve Years. His Death is ascribed to a Debauch of Wine; but he had rendered himself so hateful to the Court by his Cruelties, that it was always believed the Poison had help'd to carry him off. He was of a middling Stature, very well made in his Person, and had an Air of Good Humour and Humanity in his Physiognomy, to which all his Actions gave the Lye.

A B A S II.

Son of SEFI, the Ninth King of the Race of the Sophies, in 1642.

THIS Prince was but thirteen Years of Age when he came to the Throne, after having ran a great Hazard of being for ever incapacitated to succeed his Father. *Schah-Sefi*, whose Cruelty was such, that it did not spare even his only Son, ordered one of his chief Eunuchs, upon a certain Day, without telling him the Reason, to run the Iron over *Abas's* Eyes: His Intention to be sure was that the Iron should be red-hot; but as he did not express it so, the Eunuch,

who had Compassion of the Prince, and imagined that the King having no other Heir, would one Day be sorry for the Order he had given, only run the cold Iron over the Princes Eyes, and told the King that his Order was obey'd. Mean time the Prince, being instructed by the Eunuch, acted the blind Man so much to Perfection, that it was really believed he had lost his Sight. When *Schah-Sefi* found himself on his Death-Bed, and that he was actually dying, he was sorry that by depriving his Son of Sight, he had depriv'd himself of the only Heir to whom he could leave the Crown. As he was extreamly afflicted for it, and said with what Satisfaction he should have died, if he had but a Son to succeed him, the Eunuch seeing him almost ready to expire, assured him that he had a Secret to restore the Prince to his Sight, and that he would prove it to him by bringing him instantly before him. The King, transported at this News, sent immediately one of the chief Lords of his Court, named *Ali-Kuli-Kan*, along with the Eunuch to bring the Prince to him, whose Sight gave him so much Joy that it prolonged his Life till next Day.

THE Reign of *Abas II.* was very different from that of his Father; and it may be said, that next to *Ismael I.* and *Schah-Abas* the Great, *Persia* never had a better King of the Family of the *Sophies*. Not but that, like him, he was too much subject to Wine, and committed some Acts of Cruelty, but abating a few Excursions, of which he might justly be reproached, he shew'd himself, during the whole Course of his Reign, truly worthy of the Crown he wore.

As he was but thirteen Years of Age when he took the Scepter into his Hands, he left the Government of the Kingdom to his Mother and to *Athemat Doulet*, an old Man of near fourscore Years of Age, in whom that Princess reposed all the Confidence that could be. Things went on very quietly for the three first Years, till *Jani-Kan*, the most powerful Lord at Court, who was a declared Enemy to the Prime Minister, putting

a wrong Construction upon a Word that the King had said, went to the Minister's House, and killed him as by Order from the King. His Mother, who was incensed to the last Degree, and thought herself insulted by so daring a Stroke, pressed the King to revenge it. This Prince, who was then but sixteen Years of Age, was fain to dissemble; and instead of punishing *Jani-Kan*, he gave him the Office of the Deceased, with the Forfeiture of his Estate; and two Days after he made him Generalissimo of *Persia*, which put 30000 Men under his Command. Perhaps this new Minister might have supported himself longer, notwithstanding the Hatred which the King's Mother bore him, and notwithstanding all the Influence she had over the King her Son; but having formed a Conspiracy to force the Harem, and to kill that Princess in it, the King being informed of it, caused him and his Accomplices to be massacred next Day in the Council-Hall, when they expected nothing like it. *Tavernier* ascribes this Fact to *Schah-Sefi*: But Sir *John Chardin*, who was much better informed, and more exact in all Respects than he was, puts it to the Account of *Schah-Abas*.

THIS young Prince having established his Authority by this vigorous Stroke, took the Reins of Government into his own Hands. He was but eighteen or nineteen Years of Age, when he went to besiege *Candahar*, which in his Father's Reign had been surrendered to the Great-Mogul. He retook it with the whole Province, which surrounds it, and kept it ever afterwards, notwithstanding all the Efforts of that same *Indian* Emperor, who caused it to be besieged several Times, but always in vain, by Armies of 300000 Men. He was so much confounded at it himself, that neither he nor his Successors dared afterwards to attack it. Which in these latter Times has proved the Misfortune of *Persia*; because, if *Candahar* had been in the Hands of the Great-Mogul, the *Aghvans* would never

ver have attempted to conquer the Kingdom as they have done.

THE farther *Schah-Abas* advanced into his Reign, the more was he beloved by his Subjects, and the more feared by his Neighbours. He loved Justice, and had no Mercy for the Governors, and other publick Officers, who abusing their Authority, oppressed the People; of which several Instances may be seen in *Tavernier*. He had a great and noble Soul, was very kind to Strangers, and openly protected the Christians, whom he would not have in the least molested for their Religion, saying, *That none but God was Master of their Consciences; that, for his own Part, he was only Governor of Externals; and that all his Subjects being equally Members of the State, of what Religion soever they were, he owed Justice to them all alike.*

HE gave a full Proof of these Sentiments upon this Occasion: A *Persian* having stabbed an *Armenian*, for having seen him take out of the Basin of a *Mosque* one of those Fishes which they look upon as sacred, because they belong to the *Mosque*, was absolved for a small Matter by the *Sedre*, or High-Priest of the Kingdom, who judged that the *Armenian* was killed justly. But *Schah-Abas* was of another Opinion; and, in Contempt of the ridiculous Argument of the High-Priest, who pretended that to take a consecrated Fish was a Crime which the first Comer had a Right to punish with Death, he severely reprimanded him, condemned him to pay a Fine to the *Armenian's* Family, and caused the Murderer to be punished.

HE was but thirty-seven or thirty-eight Years old when he died. He was then in the Vigour of his Age, and had formed a Design to extend the Frontiers of his Kingdom on the North Side, and had actually made such Preparations for the Execution of it, that his Success was not doubted. His Troops were numerous, and in good Condition; and had found Ways and Means to heap up Wealth, without putting his People to the Expence. The Secret he had made

made use of for this Purpose was, not to fill up certain great Posts when they became vacant, but to put the great Sallaries thereto annex'd in his Exchequer, a Piece of Oeconomy which was worth above twelve Millions a Year to him. But Death overtook him in the Midst of his great Projects; for he fell sick at one of his Pleasure-Houses, about two Leagues from *Damagan*, a City of the Province of *Teber-Estoon*, or *Tabariston*, as 'tis called in the Maps, and after four Months languishing under the Venereal Disease, he died the 25th of *September* 1666. leaving two Sons, the Eldest about twenty Years of Age, named *Sef-Mirza*; and the youngest, who was Eight, named *Hamzech-Mirza*; but he appointed neither of them for his Successor.

S O L Y M A N,

Son of A B A S II. the Tenth King of the Race of the Sophies, in 1666.

A B A S II. having not fixed his Succession upon either of his Sons, there was a Consultation which of the two to choose for his Successor. A great Council was held upon it in the very Camp, which was pitched round the Castle where the King died; and this before his Death was not known to any but about eleven Ministers and principal Officers of the Army that composed the Council, and two Eunuchs of the first Rank, that were present at his Departure out of the World.

As 'tis always more advantageous to those who are in Place to have a Minor King for their Sovereign, than one that is of Age to govern, all the Suffrages were unanimous for giving the Crown to the younger Son, whom the King had brought along with him, and

and who was then upon the Spot. And in order to colour over the Injustice done to the Eldest, it was pretended with a seeming Probability that *Schab-Abas* had deprived him of his Sight. The Foundation for it was, that when the late King set out upon his last Journey, in which he died, he turned back again to *Ispahan*, when he was but eight Leagues from it, with a very few Attendants, and enter'd the *Haram* privately, without being seen. He was there but two Hours, and it was remark'd, that he came out very pensive. This had given Cause to suppose, that he only went thither to deprive *Mirza-Sefi* of his Sight. The Conjecture, though well founded, prov'd false. However those who assisted in the Council made a Handle of it to exclude the Eldest, and to proclaim the Youngest, who had the Generality of the Suffrages, when *Mubateck-Aga* one of the two Eunuchs who were present at the Consultation, and from whom it was least expected, in that he was the Governor of the Prince whom they made Choice of, caus'd the Election to miscarry. Though he had no deliberative Vote in the Assembly, yet he spoke with Courage, and staking his Life upon it, that *Sefi-Mirza* had not lost his Sight, he so vigorously represented to them the Injustice done to a Prince of his Age, to prefer his younger Brother, who was but a Child, before him, that he turn'd the Resolution that was enter'd into in Favour of *Hamez-Mirza*, and in a Manner forc'd the whole Assembly to choose the eldest.

THE Thing being thus resolv'd on, the Council appointed Deputies to carry the News to the Prince *Sefi-Mirza* at *Ispahan*, which was one hundred and forty *French* Leagues from the Place where the King died. The Deputies made this Journey with such a Dispatch, that they arriv'd at *Ispahan* in seven Days, viz. the second of *October*. The Chief of the Deputation having desired to speak with the Prince from the King his Father, whose Death was not known, there
was

was a great Alarm at the *Haram*, where it was suspected that the King sent an Officer of the first Rank from a Place so far distant, only to take away the Prince's Life, and it was near an Hour before they could pluck the Child from the Arms of his Mother, who thought they were going to put him to Death. At last the Prince coming out of the *Haram*, the Chief of the Deputies fell on his Knees before him, and paid due Homage to him as his King. He was install'd and crown'd, and was resolv'd to keep his old Name of *Sefi*. The Death of the old King, and the Coronation of his Successor, was not known in *Ispahan* till the next Day, and the Army decamp'd, in order to return to the Capital, without having heard a Word of the Death of *Schah-Abas*, or of the Election of *Schah-Sefi*, till they were far advanc'd upon the Road.

THOUGH at first he retain'd his old Name, he chang'd it two Years after, upon an Occasion that I am now going to mention. The Debaucheries of Wine and Women having very much impair'd his Health at the End of two Years, the Physicians not being able to restore it, laid the Blame upon the Stars, accusing the Astrologers of having not chose a happy Date for his Coronation. This Opinion, ridiculous as it was, prevail'd in a Country where they have mighty Faith in Astrology. The King was crown'd again; and abandoning his old Name, he took that of *Solyman*, which he went by to his Death. He was so strong and robust, that with the Gripe of his Hand he bent Gold Cups of the Thickness of a Crown Piece, till both Sides met. Sir *John Chardin* says, he had seen and handled several of the Cups which this Prince had so bent. But this Prince degenerated very much from the Virtues of his Father *Schah-Abas II.* and made his Reign remarkable only by a thousand Instances of Cruelty, the bare Mention of which is shocking. When he was in Wine, or in Wrath, no body about him.

him was sure of Life or Estate. He caus'd Hands; Feet, Nose; and Ears, to be cut off, Eyes to be pluck'd out, and Lives to be sacrificed, upon the least Whim that took him; and the Man that was the most in his Favour at the Beginning of a Debauch, was generally made a Sacrifice at the End of it. This is the Character given us of him by Sir *John Chardin*, who was in Part a Witness of what he relates as to this Matter. Persons thought their Lives in such Danger whenever they approach'd him, that a great Lord of his Court said, When he came from his Presence, *That he always felt if his Head was left standing upon his Shoulders*. It was under this Prince, that *Persia* began to decay.

HE thought so little like a King, that when it was represented to him what Danger he was in from the *Turks*, who when they had made Peace with the Christians, would come and attack his finest Provinces, if he did not put himself in a Condition to repel them, he answer'd very indifferently, that he did not care, provided they left him *Ispahan*. He died about the End of *July* 1694. leaving two Sons, the one *Hussein*, the other *Abas*. He was forty eight Years of Age, and had reign'd twenty eight. *Gemelli* says he was fifty three, and had reign'd thirty; but he is mistaken in both. *Solyman* was born in 1646. according to *Chardin*, who was at *Ispahan* at the Time of his Government. He came to the Crown in 1666. and not in 1664. as *Gemelli* says, who does not seem to be sure of what he advances, and who, though he pretends he was at *Schah-Hussein's* Coronation, did not so much as know the Name of this Prince, whom he always calls *Schah-Offen*.



H U S S E I N,

*Son to SOLYMAN, the Eleventh and Last King of
the Family of the Sophies, in 1694.*

AS this Prince's Reign is the chief Subject of the History of the late Revolution, 'tis sufficient here only to name him in the Succession to the other Kings of his Family.



ADVERTISEMENT

Concerning the MAP.

I HAVE caused a Map to be engraved, which is far from being crouded with Names; and very proper for this History the Plan of it; because I have endeavoured to avoid a Fault that is but too common in Charts of this Nature, *viz.* the swelling them with a great Number of Towns, and other Places, not mentioned in the History, and leaving out those that are. As the Map I exhibit is only calculated for this History, I have not troubled myself to set down any Places, which are not nam'd in it; but as to those that are treated of, whether they be Cities, Towns, or Villages, I think I have omitted none, at least, of such whose Situation I was able to determine.

I MAKE this Exception because, as the Memoirs of another Person were my Guide, I could not avoid the Mention of some Places I found in those Memoirs, though their Situation was not plainly enough pointed for me to give them their true Place in the Map. Such for Example is *Kioc-Kilan*, a Canton of *Arabia*, where *Maghmud*, in 1724. made an Expedition that was very unhappy for him; and the Province of *Baetyaci*, to which 'tis said the Prince *Myrza-Sefi*, the eldest Son of *Schah-Hussein* is retired. The Author of the Memoirs probably thought these Names as well known abroad, as in *Persia* where he wrote, and therefore said no more of them; but as I don't find

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find any Trace of them, either in the Maps or the Accounts we have of these Countries, I chose rather to leave them out of my Map, than to set them down at random. For the same Reason I have omitted the Town of *Akuli*, of which the Author says nothing more, than that 'tis a Town inhabited by *Armenians*. But these People are dispersed into so many different Cantons of *Persia*, that a Man must be a Conjuror, unless he had been upon the Spot, to know where to place the Town of *Akuli*.

As to *Karabegia*, which is not mentioned neither by that Name in the Maps, it stands for all that Country which lies between the Rivers *Kur* and *Aras*, which are the *Cyrus* and the *Arazes* of the Antients. I have not marked the Town, because I would not make the Map too broad; but I have represented one End of the Lake of that Name, which will suffice to fix it, because it lies to the South-west of that Lake.

WHERE I have said that *Machmet-Wali* was Prince of *Hacvusa*, I thought I had sufficiently determin'd the Situation of that Province by taking Notice that it bordered upon the Province of the *Agh-vans* of *Hasarai*, who are Neighbours to those of *Candahar*. The Position of this single Town fixes those other Cantons.

I HAVE given a larger Extent to the Province of *Masanderan*, on the South Side of it, than is generally given in the common Maps, which I thought make it too narrow: And my Reason for it is this: Sir *John Chardin*, in his Coronation of *Solyman*, says, "That from *Ispahan* to *Damagaan*, (the same Town that the Maps call *Damgan*,) a City which lies at the South End of *Masanderan*, or *Tahristan*, 'tis twelve Days Journey; and that from *Damagaan* to the *Caspian Sea* 'tis nine," which is three Quarters of the Distance from *Ispahan* to *Damagaan*. Now, as this Province is contracted in the Maps, we scarce find it a

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Quarter Part of the Way from *Damagaan* to the *Caspian Sea*, that it is from *Damagaan* to *Ispahan*; therefore it must necessarily be supposed, that this Province extends much farther to the South than is laid out in the Maps.

I HAVE not marked a Scale of Miles in the Map, because in such narrow Limits as I have given it, 'twould be very difficult to make a just Computation of the Distances, especially with Regard to the Towns which are but half a League at most from *Ispahan*, the Distance of which I have taken Notice of in the History, much more exactly than it was possible to do it in the Map. Besides the Degrees of Latitude and Longitude will supply that Defect.

As the Reader will be glad to see, at one View, all that the *Turks* and *Muscovites* have conquered in *Persia*, and what hitherto remains to them, as well as what remains to the Sultan *Afzraff*, I have taken care to inclose what belongs both to the one and the other with particular Points.



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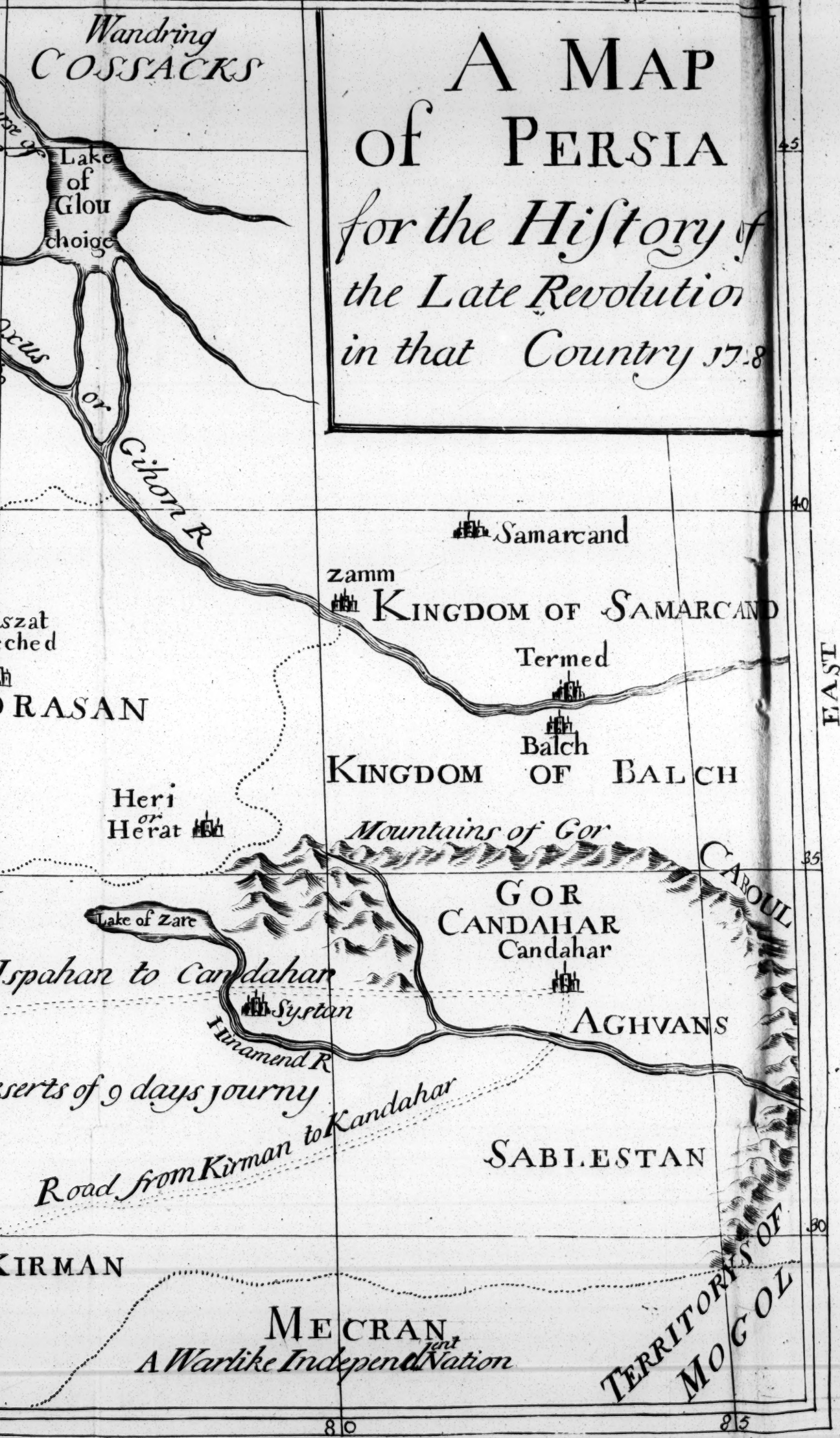


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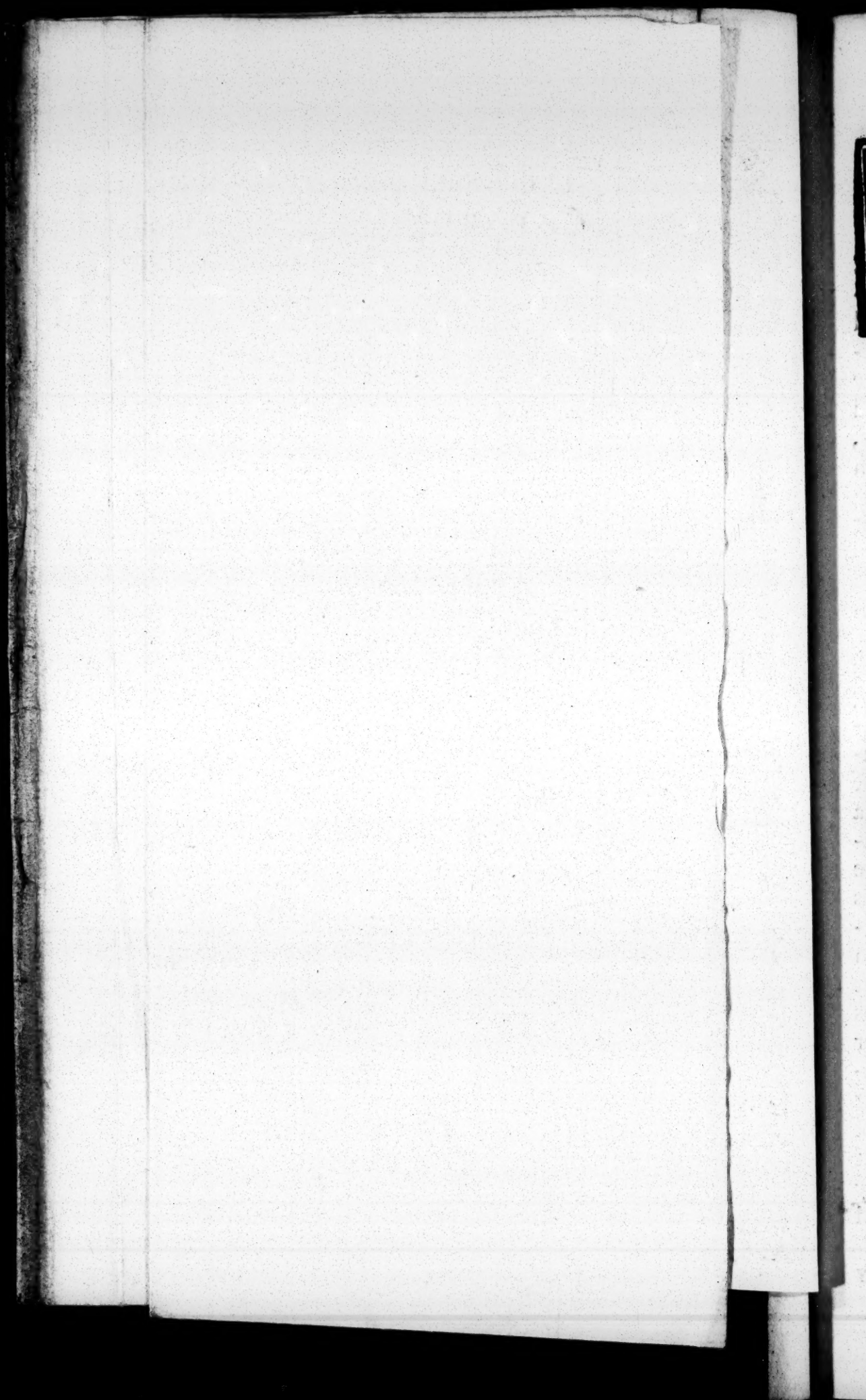
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A MAP
of PERSIA
*for the History of
the Late Revolution
in that Country 178*



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THE
HISTORY

Of the LATE

Revolution in *Persia*.



IF the Revolution of *Persia* has been so astonishing, when taken only in a general View, and according to the very imperfect Ideas we can form of it from the *Gazettes* and other publick News Papers, we may affirm, it will appear still more amazing, when we come to give a particular Account of the remote Causes and Events that prepar'd the Way to it for above twenty Years, and which at last brought it to a final Issue, to the Advantage of a Handful, as we may call it, of *Barbarians*, who expected nothing like it, and always thought it a chimerical Project to attempt to dethrone this same King of *Persia*, whom they have depos'd, as it were, without designing it.

THIS is a Mystery that cannot well be explained without going back to the Beginning of his Reign. As to his Character, he was the most human, and the

best temper'd Prince, but the weakest that ever govern'd *Persia*: And his Misfortunes are a Lesson that good Nature and Humanity, when carried too far, and unattended with the Knowledge and Virtue necessary for a King, degenerates into Dastardy, which is much more likely to make a Prince despis'd than belov'd, and that if Revolutions so extraordinary and flagrant as this of *Persia*, are not always the Consequences of such Contempt, 'tis only because there are not Persons of sufficient Abilities at all Times, and in all Countries, to lay hold of the Opportunities, and at the same time, ambitious and resolute enough to run all the Hazards of it.

Schah-Solyman, the Predecessor of *Hussein*, left but two Sons that were in a Capacity to succeed him, and both by different Mothers. The eldest was called *Mirza-Abas*, and the youngest *Hussein*, who succeeded in the Manner we are now going to relate.

Hussein's Mother had two other Sons, one that was older than him and the other younger. *Solyman* having put the eldest of them to Death, the Mother was afraid the youngest would have the same Fate, the rather, because when he came to have a Notion of Things, he abandon'd himself sometimes so far to a Resentment for his Brother's Death, as to tax his Father with Cruelty. She imagined too, that Arts were used to provoke him, to make him talk more than was proper; and in order to snatch him from the Misfortune that had bereav'd her of her eldest, she sent him away so privately from the *Haram*, (or *Seraglio*,) that no Body knew afterwards what became of him. Thus she sav'd her Son, but was made a Sacrifice to her Tendernefs: Whether it was that *Solyman*, as is generally believ'd, put her to Death, from a suspicion that she, and none but she, had promoted the Escape of this young Prince, and from an Apprehension that it might occasion a Civil War, or whether, as some have pretended, she threw herself headlong in a Fit of Madness from the top of the Palace.

BY this Means none but *Mirza-Abas* and *Hussein* were left in a Capacity of succeeding *Solyman*, who after his Passion was over for the Escape of *Hussein's* younger Brother, which had occasion'd the Death of the Mother, chang'd his Rage into a Compassion and Love for *Hussein*, and entertaining a more favourable Opinion of him than he had before, he ordered that great Care should be taken of his Education, which he had very much neglected hitherto, and that no Cost should be spared to educate him in a Manner worthy of a Prince.

WHEN *Solyman* died, he was so well dispos'd to *Hussein*, that his not appointing a Successor at his Death, can be ascrib'd to no other Cause, but his excessive Tenderness for him; for in short, nothing but his strong Biass to *Hussein* could weigh with him against the Merit of *Mirza-Abas*, who by the Confession of all Mankind, was much fitter to succeed him in the Throne than *Hussein* was, who by Reason of the Deformity of his Body, was always looked upon as tacitly excluded from all Hopes of the Crown. This young Prince, though handsome enough in other Respects, had Legs that were monstrously crooked, and withal was splay-footed. He was born, moreover, without any Ambition or Passion, and lov'd Retirement and Solitude to such a Degree, that they commonly gave him the Name of *Dervish*. And indeed he abounded with Zeal and Piety in the Exercises of his Religion, being wholly intent upon the Reading of the Alcoran, and discovering as much Modesty in his Behaviour, as Probity in his Sentiments; all Virtues of intrinsick Value, and sufficient for a private Man, but which alone cannot make a Prince a good Prince, much less a great one.

ON the contrary, *Mirza-Abas* had all the necessary Qualities for a great King, He was well shap'd, robust, had a noble Air and Inclinations, delighting only in bodily Exercises, especially of the military Kind;

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which might be used in the *Haram*, wherein the Sons of the Kings of *Persia* were train'd up.

THOUGH every thing seem'd to plead for the Choice of this Prince to be his Successor, yet *Solyman* would not determine himself in this Respect, and only said to the principal Eunuchs that surrounded him, and who towards the Close of his Reign, had got great Footing in his Government, and had render'd themselves very powerful, that he left it to them, and the other Grandees of the Kingdom, to consider which of his two Sons, for whom he had an equal Affection, was best for their Purpose; that if they were for a Martial King, that would always keep his Foot in the Stirrups, they ought to chuse *Mirza-Abas*; but that if they wish'd for a peaceable Reign, and a pacifick King, they ought to fix their Eyes upon *Hussein*.

THUS did *Schah-Solyman*, through a Folly and Imprudence, of which he did not foresee the Consequences, but which cost his Posterity the Loss of a Kingdom, abandon the Choice of his Successor to Persons who were interested to choose out of the two Princes, not him that was most capable of governing the State, but him that was the fittest and most dispos'd to let them govern him.

BEING absolute Masters of the Fate of the Kingdom, and of the Fortune of the two Princes, they did not hesitate long about the Choice. *Mirza-Abas* had Inclinations too sublime, and a Soul too great for them to expect much Complaisance from him. They were even afraid of him already; and by some Sarcasms which indiscreetly dropp'd from that young Prince, against the exorbitant Power of the Eunuchs, they had Reason to judge, that he would be for clipping their Wings. On the other Hand, *Hussein's* Grandmother, by the Mother's Side, who had a great Party in the *Haram*, and who acted vigorously for her Grandson, found no Difficulty to gain the Eunuchs, by the Assurances she gave them, even upon Oath, to make him their Friend.

AT the same time an Interest was secur'd with the Ministers and principal Officers, who had not only been accustomed for most Part, at least during the latter Years of *Solyman's* Reign, to follow the Impressions of the *Haram*, and to buckle to the Eunuchs, who were Lords Paramount, but had more Inclination for a quiet peaceable Government, than for a tumultuous warlike Reign, such as that of *Mirza-Abas* could not fail to be.

THIS Prince, though the most deserving of the Crown, was therefore excluded from it ; and while they were proclaiming and installing his Brother, they secur'd him, by putting him under stricter Confinement than he was subject to before in the *Haram*. But for all the Instances that the Eunuchs could make to oblige the new King to bore out his Eyes, as his Predecessors used to serve their Brothers, he would never permit it, but always opposed it, not only from a Sentiment of Humanity, but in Pursuance of an Engagement which the two Brothers had made with one another. For when they were first put to reading in the Alcoran, they both swore upon that Book, which is their Gospel, that which soever of them should be King, should not suffer the Eyes of the other to be put out ; but that, on the contrary, he should content himself with keeping him under a strong Guard, and procure him the most agreeable and comfortable Accommodation consistent with Imprisonment. But what proves that a Sentiment of Humanity had as great a Share in this Moderation of *Schah-Hussein* as the Tie of an Oath, is, that he behaved with the same Kindness to his other younger Brothers, though he had made no Engagement with them.

I must observe here, as to those Princes of the Blood-Royal that are kept in the *Haram*, that it must not therefore be imagined that they are educated amongst Women, or in Voluptuousness. When they are come to seven Years of Age they are taken from the Care of Women, and lodged in separate Quarters, where even

their own Mothers are not so much as permitted to come to see them without express Leave from the King. Every one of those young Princes has two Masters, one to give them Learning, and the other to form their Manners. These two Masters are always Eunuchs, for no other Man comes near them. They are shut up in Gardens, the Walls of which are so high that they never can see the Sun at its Rising or Setting. Instead of being brought up in Delicacy and Idleness, they are kept to hard Meat, and stinted to bare Necessaries, without knowing any Pleasure, unless the King in his special Grace is pleased to indulge them. However, they are permitted under the Colour of Diversion, and for Bodily Exercise, at certain Hours, to throw a sort of Javelin, which they call *Girid*, and which they direct against a Butt, or to shoot in the same Manner from the Bow; but they are never allowed to mount a Horse.

BESIDES the two Tutors just now mentioned, they are allowed a third, when they come to the Age of about Fourteen, whose Care is to form them to Piety, according to the Discipline of the Alcoran; for till they have attain'd that Age they are deemed unclean, and, as such, though they are besides taught to read, they are debarred from reading the Alcoran, as well as from using the Prayers ordered by the Law; because, 'tis not presumed, that till they come to those Years, they are capable of giving all the necessary Attention, nor of preserving all the Purity which is proper for so holy an Exercise; and because the least wandering of the Thought, or Indecency, though it be involuntary, is, according to them, a sufficient Profanation. Nor do they use, during their Childhood, those legal Ablutions which the Mahometans are obliged to before their Prayers, and which are always the necessary and indispensable Preludes of all their Religious Exercises; nor do they begin to practise the Ablutions enjoined by the Law till after their Circumcision, which is as the Seal of the Mahometan Religion, and
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which is not used in *Persia* before the Age of Fourteen. At that time the Eunuch, who serves as their Moulah, that is to say, Doctor or Chaplain, makes them read the Prayers five times a-day, according to the Law of *Mahomet*, each of which Prayers is preceded by the Ablutions that are required, by Means of which they reckon themselves purified from all Sin and Filth. The Moulah, who instructs them, audibly and distinctly pronounces the Words of the Prayer, which they are bound to repeat after him; but after he has done, they are allowed to lengthen their Prayers, if they have so much Devotion. Many of these recluse Princes do it, who renouncing all Manner of Sensuality and Pleasure, stick close to the Reading of the Alcoran, and to Prayer; and in their Retirement lead the Lives of Friars and Dervishes. As to their Nourishment, it is very frugal: Of three Meals which they make in a Day, the most considerable, which is their Supper, is only Rice, and their Drink is *Sherbet*, which serves the better to digest it. At the two other Meals, in which they have only Bread, Fruit, Cheese, some Sweet-Meats, and Coffee, they drink nothing but Water. Their Habits are as plain as their Food: They put on but two Suits in a Year, the one at the Vernal Solstice, the other at the Autumnal; and they are only made of a Woollen Stuff, from whence some derive *Sophy*, the Name of the Royal Family, which in the *Persian* Language signifies Wool. They are allow'd, indeed, a sort of Fur-Lining to the Suit, which is given them for the Autumnal Solstice; but 'tis no more than Lamb's Wool. They pass the Night in separate Chambers, about which there are Eunuchs that always walk the Rounds, and which relieve one another in Turns to watch while they sleep.

W H E N they are come to eighteen Years of Age, they are each allow'd a Woman, who is chose without Regard to her Birth or Condition; I say allow'd, because they cannot dispose of her as they please; for those Women are shut up in a little *Haram* by themselves,

selves, where they are guarded by black Eunuchs, that don't allow the Princes the Liberty of going to them as often as they have a Mind to it. But for fear lest the Princes of the Blood should multiply too fast, by Means of the Women that are allow'd to those Princes, the Eunuchs who had Charge of the Women, made it their whole Care to choose none but barren ones, or those whom they had the Secret to render so, unless upon Failure of the Branches of the Royal Family, the Necessity of providing Successors obliged them to do otherwise. *Schah-Abas* I. firnamed *the Great*, who died in 1629. after a Reign of forty-four Years, and who was not only the greatest King of the *Sophy* Race, but one of the most able and wisest Monarchs that ever reigned, was the first that established the Custom of keeping the Children of the Kings shut up, so as to have no Communication with those without Doors, during the Reign of their Father. He said, that it was not proper to expose them too much to the View of the People, who generally worship the rising Sun; and that besides, as Kings ought to be more jealous of their Crown than their Wives, they ought to take no less Precaution to preserve the one than the other. He added, that as a Thing not known gives no Temptation, the Children of Kings, bred up in this retired Way, lived content in it, and without Ambition, and were so thoroughly inured to it, that sometimes they preferred it to all the Splendor of Regal Grandure. This was the very Case of Prince *Mirza-Sefi*, one of the Sons of the dethroned King, who being taken out of the *Haram* before the Troubles, to be put at the Head of Affairs with the Title of Lieutenant-General of the King his Father, over all the Kingdom, had not enjoy'd that Place above three Weeks or a Month, but being surfeited with a Grandure, and a Way of Living to which he had not been used, he desired Leave to retire on Pretence of Pains in his Head, and shut himself up again in the *Haram*, to betake to his former Course of Life.

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As the Daughters of the Kings of *Persia* are totally excluded from all Right to the Crown, as well as their Children; and as in this Respect, they are not capable of giving Umbrage, their Fortune is much happier than that of the Princes their Brothers. For, though they are confined under the Guard of the black Eunuchs, that narrowly watch their Conduct, yet they are brought up in other Respects with much less Severity, and far more Liberty, with Regard to the Pleasures and Amusements consistent with the Delicacy of the Sex, which are not denied them. When they are marriageable they are matched to some of the Grandees of the Kingdom, to the great Mortification of the latter, who, in Consequence of such Marriage, and out of Respect to an Alliance of so high a Rank, are obliged to content themselves with their Wives, and to abstain from the Use of Concubines in their *Harams*. This were tolerable, however, if the Children born of such Marriages, could from thence acquire any lawful Pretension to the Crown, at least on Failure of Heirs Male; but, even in this Case, they would have no more Claim to it than the last Man in the Kingdom. I thought this Digression on a Point not much known, would not be disobliging to the Reader; and now I return to my Subject.

SCHAH-HUSSEIN, was no sooner seated on the Throne, but the Eunuchs, not satisfied with having chose a Prince of his soft Temper, narrow Spirit, and almost natural Incapacity of feeling the Yoke under which they intended to keep him, were for making surer of him, by inspiring him with such a Gust for Debauchery, as should give him an Aversion to Business. But they found the more Difficulty in it, because the very first Action with which this Prince began his Reign, seemed to lay an invincible Obstacle against the Design they had formed.

HIS Head being full of those Notions of Regularity, and severe Discipline, which he had imbibed from the Alcoran, during his Retirement, and in which

which he confirmed himself yet more after he came to the Throne; and this by such an Attachment to the Reading of the said Book, as seemed a little strange in a King, and got him the Nick-Name of *Moulah*, or *Parson-Hussein*, he thought himself under an indispensable Obligation to prohibit the Use of a Liquor which was forbid in the Alcoran with the utmost Severity. Therefore he issued out an Edict absolutely prohibiting the Use of Wine; and not content with having made the Law, he was the first Man to shew an Example of putting it in Execution; for he caused all the Wine-Vessels to be brought out of the Cellars of his Palace into a publick Square, and there to be stav'd in Pieces. His Precaution extended still farther, and to take away all Possibility of transgressing, he forbid the *Armenians* of the Suburb *Zulfa*, who used to furnish the Wine, to bring any more in for the future, though in never so small a Quantity, on the Penalty of the entire Forfeiture of the Delinquent's Estate.

As the Grandees of the Kingdom, and the Court Lords, who had been accustomed to drink Wine, which was tolerated in *Persia* ever since the Reign of *Schah-Abas* the Great, *i. e.* for above two hundred Years, were frighten'd at the Severity of this Edict, the Eunuchs were more terrified from another Motive. They knew that a temperate King would not be always led by the Nose; that he would not fail to apply himself to Business if he had nothing to divert him from it; and that after forming himself to it by Degrees, it is impossible but he would open his Eyes at length, and shake off the Yoke which they designed to keep him under. There was no other Method to ward off the Blow, but by restoring the Liquor which the King had prohibited, than by putting him under a sort of Necessity of tasting it himself. They imagined that he could not withstand the Temptation; and that when he had once tasted of it, he could not do without it. The Eunuchs undertook it with the more Confidence, because there was no Body at Court but
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what wished well to their Design, the King being the only Person concerned to oppose it. The Difficulty was to find out some Byass in order to make the Attempt without any Risque, and without the King's taking Umbrage at it. The Eunuchs applied for this Purpose to the King's Grandmother, by the Mother's Side, to whom he partly owed his Crown, and for whom he always had a very great Value and Tender-ness. They brought her into their Views, without much Difficulty. Having accustomed herself all her Life long to the Use of Wine, she was mortified at the new Edict; and very glad, on the other hand, of an Opportunity to do a Pleasure to those whom she had been obliged to for having placed her Grandson upon the Throne. It was therefore concerted between them, that she should feign herself sick; and that when the King came to see her, as he would not fail to do when he was informed of her Illness, she should give him to understand, that if he valued her Life, he must permit her to drink a little Wine, that being the only Remedy, in the Opinion of the Physicians, that could relieve her. The Success answered the Expectation. The King, alarmed at the pretended dangerous Condition of his Grandmother, was so sway'd by Pity, that, though it was Midnight, he sent an Express immediately to the *Armenians* of *Zulfa* for some Wine. These Wine Merchants thinking it was a Bait laid for them, declared, that as they had not dared to keep any since the severe Prohibition laid upon them by the King, they had not a Drop left at his Service. As they knew not where to have any, and as the Persons who had saved any, were far from owning it, for fear that such a Piece of Complaisance, how well taken soever it might be at that Juncture, might hurt them another Day, it was hinted to the King, that perhaps he might find some at the *Polish* Envoy's, who was then at Court, and whose Character exempted him from observing the Law. It happened accordingly, and the King pouring it out into a Cup, presented it
with

with his own Hands to his Grandmother. This cunning Lady, who knew her Lesson, refused at first to take the Cup, saying, that she could not resolve with herself to drink Wine if the King himself would not taste it first; and when the Prince excused himself from the Precept of the Alcoran, she very readily told him, that the Character with which he was vested, put him above all Manner of Laws; for 'tis a Maxim among the *Persians*, *That Kings are subject to no Law; and that whatever they do, they commit no Sin.* She then put him in mind that all his Ancestors and Predecessors, since the Great *Schah-Abas* had not only drank Wine, but also permitted the Use of it to all their Courtiers; and really, continued she, how could they possibly, without such a Support, have born the whole Weight of the Affairs of so vast an Empire? And how could he himself bear up under the Fatigues and Disquietudes of Government, if he did not dulcify the Bitterness of it by the Use of that dear generous Liquor? She added, that for her Part, she was very sensible nothing but Wine could prolong her Days; but that, were it to save her Life, she would never make Use of it, if he himself was not the first to set her an Example. The King could not stand against so pressing a Solicitation, and drank a large Cup of it, which inspired him with a certain Briskness that he had no Notion of before; and he took such a Fancy to it afterwards, that he abandoned himself entirely to it, insomuch that it was rare to find him sober, and capable of attending to the minutest Affair of Government. 'Tis true, indeed, that, after his Pilgrimage to *Meszat*, which we shall have Occasion to mention hereafter, a Pilgrimage which he undertook by Way of Devotion, to visit the Tombs of some famous Saints of his Sect, he did not drink Wine to that Excess as before: But this Amendment came too late, and he was from that time so besotted by the Excesses he had been guilty of in that Way, and so buried in the Pleasures of his Haram, that he would not by any Means hear the Mention of
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Business, but left it all to the Discretion of his Ministers and Eunuchs, who governed the Kingdom just as they pleased, and took the greater Licence, because they were very sensible they had nothing to fear from a Prince who was so weak as to refer the very Petitions he received, to them, without so much as reading them. Thus did the Eunuchs, after having disposed of the Throne as they liked, put themselves also in a Condition to dispose likewise of all the Prerogatives of the Prince whom they had placed on it; and who conducting himself just according to their Impressions, not so much in Acknowledgment of the Obligation he had to them, as from an Aversion to Care and Business, became upon the Throne itself, no more than a Cypher, or the Freeman of his Slaves. Now because this exorbitant Power of the Eunuchs has been one of the principal Causes of the Ruin of the Kingdom, 'tis proper to go back to the Origin of that Credit and Power, which being pushed to the utmost Extremity in the Reign of *Schah-Hussein*, produced that amazing Revolution which is the Subject of this History.

THE Eunuchs under the preceding Kings, and especially since *Schah-Abas* the Great, were always shut up in the Haram without having any thing to do with the Government, and only confined to the Occupations within their Sphere, as Persons set apart to guard the Prince's Bed, and not his Throne. The only considerable Office to which they were admitted, was that of keeping the King's Treasures, and the Management of the Finances; for which they seem'd more proper than others, because, as they had no Kindred nor Heirs, to whom they could leave their Wealth, they were under the less Temptation of enriching themselves at the Expence of the King and the Publick. For heretofore they were all Foreigners, and taken out of Countries the farthest distant from *Persia*, as from the farthest *Arabia*, several Parts of the *Indies*, *Great Tartary*, *Abyssinia*, and *China*; and it was an old State Maxim to admit no Eunuch that was a *Persian*.

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The Reason of this Policy, was to the End that being sequester'd from their Families, which the Generality of them knew nothing of, and depending upon no Body, they might be the more attach'd to the Person of the King, and have less Cause, and fewer Opportunities to divulge abroad what was secretly transacted in the Haram. It appeared, however, that in the latter times, and in the Reign even of *Schah-Solyman*, Father and Predecessor to the King lately dethroned, they began to make a Breach into that wise Custom of admitting no Eunuch that was a *Persian*: Of this we have a very evident Proof in the Voyages of *Tavernier*, *Lib. v. Cap. 22.* who tells us, that he who commanded in the Fortrefs of *Lar*, when he passed through that City in 1665. was a *Persian* that had obtained the Government by the Favour of his Brother, who was Meter, * that is to say, first Valet de Chambre to the King; a Post which, as he observes himself elsewhere, is always conferr'd upon a white Eunuch, and which is the prettier Employment, because he that has it is always near the King's Person, and follows him wherever he goes; so that the Meter, says *M. Tavernier*, is looked upon as one of the first and most considerable Officers of the Court. He adds afterwards, that this Governor of the Fortrefs of *Lar*, seeing his Brother advanced in Years, and having four Sons, thought fit to have the youngest castrated, that he might have his Uncle's Post, but that the Operation being ill performed, the Child died at the End of three or four Days, to the great Sorrow of the Father, who was quite ashamed and confounded.

WHAT *M. Tavernier* says relating to the Shame and Confusion of the Governor of *Lar* upon this Occasion,

* *Tavernier* is not consistent with himself as to the Nature of this Office; for he makes this Meter sometimes the Chief Valet de Chambre, at other times Grand Master of the Wardrobe, and sometimes First Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber. Sir John Chardin in his Account of the Coronation of *Solyman* makes him Great Chamberlain.

caſion, is a plain Proof of the Contempt they had in *Persia* for ſuch of their Countrymen as diſhonoured themſelves by ſo unworthy a Debaſement of Manhood; and this makes it probable that their Number was not great. Conſequently the Bulk of the Eunuchs conſiſted only of Foreigners, who were purchaſed at a good Price when Children, the common Pay for ſuch being fifty Tomans a Head, which is about three thouſand Livres. Being carried from their Childhood into the Haram, there they were brought up with all the Care and Delicacy poſſible, in order to render them the more in love with the King's Service, to whoſe Goodneſs they were obliged for all the Sweets of Life which they enjoy'd there. But the Pleaſure they found within the Haram did not free them from Contempt when they went abroad, where they always rode upon Mules or Affes, or elſe walked a-foot, not being allowed the Uſe of Horſes. As often as they appeared in Publick, they were ſure to be hooted at by the Populace, which was not diſpleaſing to the Kings, who permitted it very willingly, from a Notion they had, that the Contempt and Averſion which the Publick expreſſed for thoſe Wretches, would be one Reaſon why they ought to be the more devoted to their Princes, from whom they receive nought but good Uſage and Favours. But Things had quite another Aſpect in the Reign of *Schah-Huſſein*, during which thoſe very People that were before the Object of the Scorn and Ridicule of all that paſſed by, never went abroad without the moſt ſplendid Equipage, and with a Train and Retinue that taught the People to pay Reſpect to thoſe whom they had been uſed to deſpiſe. Inſtead of being aſhamed of their Condition then, they valu'd themſelves upon it, and carried the Jeſt ſo far upon this Head, as to cauſe an Ediſt to be publiſhed in the King's Name, forbidding the making of Capons; which ſhew'd as if thoſe Half-Men were uneaſy to ſee a ſort of ſpecifick Character, which they pretended was an Honour to their Perſons, proſtituted to brute Creatures.

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The Reason of this Policy, was to the End that being sequester'd from their Families, which the Generality of them knew nothing of, and depending upon no Body, they might be the more attach'd to the Person of the King, and have less Cause, and fewer Opportunities to divulge abroad what was secretly transacted in the Haram. It appeared, however, that in the latter times, and in the Reign even of *Schah-Solyman*, Father and Predecessor to the King lately dethroned, they began to make a Breach into that wise Custom of admitting no Eunuch that was a *Persian*: Of this we have a very evident Proof in the Voyages of *Tavernier*, *Lib. v. Cap. 22.* who tells us, that he who commanded in the Fortrefs of *Lar*, when he passed through that City in 1665. was a *Persian* that had obtained the Government by the Favour of his Brother, who was Meter,* that is to say, first Valet de Chambre to the King; a Post which, as he observes himself elsewhere, is always conferr'd upon a white Eunuch, and which is the prettier Employment, because he that has it is always near the King's Person, and follows him wherever he goes; so that the Meter, says M. *Tavernier*, is looked upon as one of the first and most considerable Officers of the Court. He adds afterwards, that this Governor of the Fortrefs of *Lar*, seeing his Brother advanced in Years, and having four Sons, thought fit to have the youngest castrated, that he might have his Uncle's Post, but that the Operation being ill performed, the Child died at the End of three or four Days, to the great Sorrow of the Father, who was quite ashamed and confounded.

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TOWARDS the Close of *Schah-Solyman's* Reign they began to open a Way to that surprizing Credit which they attained to under his Successor. This Monarch who had hitherto always kept them on the antient Footing, fell, unhappily for him and his Posterity, into that State of Infirmary and Decay, wherein they who command the rest of Mankind are at the Mercy of their Officers and Domesticks, and at the Discretion of their Physicians and Valets de Chambre. As they have more Reasons to be fond of Life than the most happy of their Subjects, and, as by the Care that is taken to keep at a Distance every thing that may give them the least Trouble, they are not so much used to suffering as others, all Services which tend either to divert the Danger, or to diminish the present Affliction, rise in Value in Proportion to the Sense of what they suffer, and to their Abhorrence of Death. In Situations of this Kind, a slight Service done to their Persons affects them much more than great Service performed to the State, and all the Merit of the most important Victory is nothing in their Estimation to the Merit of giving a little Ease in the Extremity of Pain.

SUCH was the Condition *Schah-Solyman* was reduced to by a very painful Gout, which confined him to his Bed two whole Years, during which, being shut up within the Walls of his Haram, where none but Eunuchs came near his Person, they were familiar to him, and he looked upon their Attendance on his Person with another Eye to what he did before: Their Care, their Uneasiness, their Readiness in the minutest Services, seemed to him to be of quite another Value than he used to put upon them. He found they had Knowledge, Learning, and Sentiments which he had not yet perceived: He gave Ear to their Councils with Delight: His Esteem for them increased every Day; and as the Interests of his Kingdom were not more at his Heart, than those of his Health and Life, he thought he could not do better than to trust the former with Persons, to whom he had so happily trusted
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the latter. The Distance of his Ministers who remain'd without, and with whom he could have scarce any Communication, seem'd to put him under the Necessity of dealing thus, and of granting, as he did, the general Super-intendency of the Government of the Kingdom, over the Heads of all the Ministers and great Officers, to an Eunuch in whom he had plac'd an extraordinary Confidence.

'Tis true, that his more than ordinary Merit, being a Man of a great Genius and uncommon Capacity, seem'd, as it were before-hand to justify the King's Choice ; but the Event of Things justified it yet more : For *Chagia-Drak*, which was the Eunuch's Name, manag'd Affairs so wisely, providing for every thing, preventing Discontents, pacifying Com-motions in their Birth, and impressing Fear and Respect on the boldest, by propagating seasonable Reports, as to the Recovery of the King's Health, that the Kingdom lost nothing by that Prince's Inaction during his Illness. This he found himself, as soon as his Health was restor'd ; and 'twas this that induced him to form out of the chief of his Eunuchs, whom he join'd in Commission with him that had serv'd him so well during his Illness, a particular Council, which he render'd superior to all the Ministers. He flatter'd himself, he had a double Advantage in this new Establishment ; for on the one hand he thereby diverted upon the Eunuchs the Odium of what might sometimes appear harsh in the Government ; and on the other hand, as Employments of such Importance gave the Eunuchs an Opportunity to acquire great Riches, the King found his Accompt in it, because all their Estates coming to him by Right after their Death, the Treasure they gather'd must be his.

SCHAH-HUSSEIN, who when he succeeded *Schah-Solyman* his Father, found Things settled on this Foot, was far from diminishing the Prerogatives or Authority of the Persons that had lately plac'd him on the Throne, and of whose Assistance, even though he

had not lain under an Obligation to them of that Importance, his natural Incapacity and Genius accustomed to Subjection, would have oblig'd him to make use for supporting a Crown, the Weight of which was too heavy for him.

THUS therefore did the Eunuchs become under *Schah-Husseïn*, the Arbiters of Affairs, the Dispensers of Employments and Favours, and absolute Masters of the Government, assuming to themselves the Authority of all Offices, which were little more than empty Titles in the Hands of those that held 'em; for though Affairs pass'd as formerly, through the Hands of these Titulars, they did not dare to decide any thing of Importance, without taking Orders from those chief Masters, who compos'd a sovereign Senate, in which every thing was drawn up over Night that was to be laid next Day before the King's Council. The *Athemat-Doulet*, i. e. Prime Minister, was no more exempt from this Servitude than the other Ministers or Officers of inferior Note. The only Person that wanted to be free from it, and to shake off the Yoke of so shameful a Dependance, far'd the worse for it, and though none could reproach him, fell under the most cruel Disgrace, as will be shewn in due Time: Not but that the common and less important Affairs ran in the usual Channel, and always remain'd at his Disposal; but as to grand Affairs, such as making Peace or War, Treaties with foreign Powers, and the Nomination of the Viceroyships or Governments of Provinces and lesser Towns, as well as of all Subaltern Offices; all this was reserv'd to the Sovereign Senate of the Eunuchs, who while the King was buried in the Delights of his Haram, and not so much taken up with the Government of his Dominions as the least of his Subjects, disposed of the chief Places of his Kingdom, and of the Fortunes of all the Grantees as they pleased, in his Name. Neither the Merit nor Services of the Candidates were consider'd in the Distribution of Offices, to which there was no

Access, but by the Interest and Favour of those to whom the King had left the arbitrary Disposal. Those Wretches, more covetous, though they had no Heirs to leave their Treasures to, than such generally are who have numerous Families, sold their Protection for Gold, and drove a publick Trade, as it were, in Governments and Employments. Offices were disposed of, not to the most deserving, but to the highest Bidder. This Disorder, very pernicious in it self, proved yet worse in its Consequences: In the first Place, because it stifled all Emulation, and made People indifferent in acquiring the necessary Knowledge and Qualifications, no body giving themselves the Trouble to obtain or cultivate Talents, which they saw were of no Service. Secondly, because such as attain'd to Offices by this Method, having drain'd their Pockets to purchase them, were no sooner in Place, but they practis'd all Manner of Extortion, and made a Penny of every thing, not only to reimburse themselves the Sums it cost them to obtain their Employments, but also that they might be in a Condition to support their Characters.

IN short, the insatiable Avarice of the Eunuchs that govern'd in the Name of *Schah-Hussein*, push'd their Oppressions to such Excess, that the like had not been known under any of his Predecessors; and it was some sort of Excuse for the most criminal Extortions of those that govern'd in the Provinces. As thus;

'T WAS a very constant Custom in *Persia*, in the Disposal of Governments, to bestow them for Life; and scarce any were displac'd, unless they had given Occasion by too flagrant Acts of Injustice, or unless it was to promote them to more considerable Stations; so that if they had been oblig'd to advance any Sums for their Places, as 'twas ten to one but they had, though their Expences were much more moderate than in the Reign of *Schah-Hussein*, yet they had not the other Exactions to fear from the Court afterwards, save only when the King sent them the *Calaate*, the

Name they give to the rich Vest with which the King presented the Governors of Towns or Provinces, as a Mark of his Satisfaction with their past Administration, and as a Title which confirm'd them again in their Post. To carry this Vest, some Officer of the Court was generally chose, whom the King or his Ministers had a Mind to gratify ; for they were oblig'd, not only to defray the Expences of his Journey, and during his Stay, but also to make him a considerable Present, which was also tax'd sometimes at the King's Pleasure. But as under the Predecessors of *Schab-Hussein* the *Calaate* was sent but once a Year, and generally at the Beginning of the Year, which in *Persia* takes Date at the Vernal Equinox, those Expences were looked upon as Part of the ordinary Charge annexed to the Office, and could not serve the Governor as a Pretence to oppress the People under his Jurisdiction. But it was not so under *Schab-Hussein* ; the Present that was made but once a Year under his Predecessors being made almost every Month during his Reign, and those *Calaates*, or Royal Vests, were sent so often, that there were Governors who boasted they had as many for Change, as they had Shirts. Nevertheless they did no complain against it ; for they found their Account in it, because by Favour of those extraordinary Presents, and under Colour of the Gratuity which they were oblig'd to make to the Officer that brought them, they raised ten Times as much upon the People. The Eunuchs on their Part found their Advantage in it ; for besides that it gave them an Opportunity to gratify their Creatures, without any Expence to themselves, by procuring them so lucrative a Commission as the carrying of the *Calaate* to the Governors, the latter understood their own Interest better than to let those Messengers return to Court without loading them with rich Presents for their Masters, the whole at the Expence of the poor People, who were more and more drain'd by Jobs of that kind so frequently repeated, and were still farther exhausted by the Alterations

of Governors, which for Reasons that shall be mentioned hereafter, became very frequent under the Reign of *Schah-Hussein*.

THIS may easily be imagin'd, if it be consider'd what the Power of those Governors was in the Provinces where they commanded, and where they were deem'd as so many Sovereigns: For no sooner did the Advice come of the Nomination of a new Governor, but the chief Men of the Province met in a Body, and began by regulating the Sum which was certainly to be rais'd forthwith, either for the Charge of the Governor's Reception, which they took care to make with such Magnificence as should please him, or for the Presents which they were oblig'd to make over and above, by the Value of which he rated the Esteem and Regard they had for his Person. For this Purpose they fixed a Sum of three or four thousand Tomans to be rais'd, in equal Proportions, by the private Men of the Province; and as they who settled the Sum were the very Men charg'd with the Assessment, they were so cunning that they found Means to gain six Times as much by it. This was the Method they took in all the extraordinary Contributions which they laid upon the People.

How burthensome soever this Reception of new Governors was to the Province, and to private People, it was tolerable however when it happen'd but seldom; and this perhaps is one of the Reasons that had induced the Predecessors of *Schah-Hussein* to give Governments for Life, and not to change them without great Reasons, the rather because those Alterations could not be made without taking vast Sums of Money from the Province.

To understand this, you must know that in *Persia*, though none but the King has a Right to coin Silver Money, the Governors of the Province have a Right to coin Copper: And this Money, which is fixed at a certain value in their Province while they command there, sinks one Half in the Value when they are displaced,

placed, and never goes for any more in the other Provinces; so that a Piece of Copper which is worth Ten Pence in the Province where the Governor commands with whose Stamp it was coin'd, is worth but Five Pence in all the other Provinces of the Kingdom; and suffers the same Abatement in his own too, the Moment he gives Place to his Successor. By this Means, a Man who goes to Bed at Night with a Ten-penny Piece in his Breeches, finds but Five Pence there in the Morning, if the Governor was chang'd in the Night. And it was hardly possible but these Alterations must often happen under a Prince so weak as *Schah-Hussein*, led too by People who, at the same time that they governed him, could not agree with one another.

THOSE who have read the Accounts of *Persia* know, that there, as well as in *Turkey*, the Princes make use of two Sorts of Eunuchs, some black and others white; that the first are for the Guards of the Women in the Inner-Haram, where they are kept shut up; and the others to attend the King, or for the Guard of the Princes of the Royal Blood, in a particular Haram separate from that of the Women.

THE Council of the Eunuchs, which *Schah-Hussein* had form'd, after the Example of his Predecessor, and to whom he had left a greater Share of Empire and Authority than they had in the preceding Reign, consisted of the Chief of these two Sorts of Eunuchs, who having equally contributed to place *Schah-Hussein* upon the Throne, equally shared in his Acknowledgment. No wonder that the Eunuchs of these two Sorts did not agree: The very Difference of their Complexions was enough to found a natural Antipathy between the two Parties; and the Jealousy of Favour and Authority which each Party strove to gain over the other, was a vast Addition to it. But what rendered it more incurable is, that it was founded upon a Spirit of Faction which the Kings of *Persia*, from *Schah-Abas* the Great, who first introduced this

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Maxim in Government, thought it was Policy to keep up, not only between the Eunuchs and the Grantees of the Court, but also among all their Subjects.

THIS Prince who ascended the Throne in 1585. and who is looked upon in *Persia* as the Restorer of the Monarchy, had left to his Successors, among the most important Secrets for the Maintenance of their Authority, that dangerous Maxim, *Divide & Impera*. As the Crown had not been long in his Family, and as he was but the Great Great-Grandson of *Schah-Ismael*, the first of the *Sophies* that had usurp'd it from the ancient Kings, he was even more upon his Guard against his Subjects than against his Neighbours. In order to make sure of the one by the Antipathy of the other, he took care to introduce into all the Cities of this Kingdom, foreign Colonies of such Nations as were the least likely of making Alliances, and whose Genius, Character, Humour, Customs, Manners, and Language too, were most opposite and incompatible. Out of all these different Nations assembled in the same Towns, and obliged to live under the same Laws, he found Means, by sowing Division among them, to form in each Town two Factions so opposite, and so much Enemies one to the other, that People of different States, in Arms against one another, do not push their Aversion and Enmity farther.

THESE two Factions, one of which was called *Pelenk*, and the other *Felenk*, and which were distinguished from one another by the particular Colour that each chose for the Neck-Bands of their Shirts, were equally distributed in every Town, where they formed, as it were, two different Nations, that had no Relation with one another; the one Party not being able to contract Marriage, or even to eat with the other. Each of these Factions had their Estates separate, and so inalienable, that whatever happened, the Houses and Lands appertaining to either of the two Parties, could not devolve to the other. It was especially

cially at the Celebration of the famous Feast of *Hoccen*, and *Hussein*, *Ali*'s Son-in-Law, that the Enmity of the two Parties broke out in a more remarkable manner, by means of the Permission that was then given them to Fight. Though they did it without Arms, because they were not suffered to make use of any thing else but Stones and Sticks, it was with so much Fury and Blood-shed, that the King was often obliged to employ his Guards to separate them with drawn Swords: And hard was it to accomplish it, even with a Method so effectual, insomuch that at *Is-pahan* in 1714. they were under a Necessity, before they could separate the Combatants, to put above Three hundred to the Sword on the Spot. 'Tis true that the Spirit of Superstition contributed not a little to keep up and aggravate the Animosity of the two Parties; for they who happen'd to fall in Battles of this Nature, were looked upon as Martyrs. Instead of pitying them they were envy'd, and People were very scrupulous of having so much as a Thought of revenging a Death, which proved to them in the Nature of an Apotheosis. When the Battle was over, each Faction carefully took up the Bodies of their respective Party, which had the Happiness, according to them, to fall a Sacrifice to so holy a Solemnity; and they were buried with all the Pomp and Veneration that seemed due to Persons that were looked upon as the Friends and Favourites of the great Prophet *Ali*.

THIS massacring Feast of *Hussein* was celebrated with the same Pomp, and the same Disorders in all the Towns of *Persia*. The Governors preside at them, surrounded with their Guards, which they also employ'd to separate the Combatants, when their proceeding to Blows forced them to it. Notwithstanding the Confusion and Trouble which such a sort of civil War must occasion, the Houses on both Sides were secured from Plunder; and if it happened that
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any one was broke open, those of the opposite Party were fined in great Sums, to make good the Damages, &c.

SCHAH-ABAS the Great who had established those Customs, was sensible that there was nothing more proper to keep up in every City the Animosity of the two Factions into which it was divided ; and upon whose Antipathy he founded the Security of the Throne more than upon any thing else ; and it must be confessed that, how strange soever his Policy appeared in this Respect, it always had the Effect he proposed, which was to hinder any Town from rising unanimously in Rebellion against the Prince. Things were so managed, that the two Factions in each Town were as strong one as the other, and equally incensed with one another. Their Children suck'd with their very Milk an Aversion, or rather an Abhorrence for every thing that belonged to the contrary Party. The continual and determinate Resolution to avoid all Manner of Dealings with one another, and every Shadow of Relation and Affinity that might tend in the least to bring them acquainted, only served to foment that Horror, and to fortify it by a Habit. A mutual Diffidence kept each Party to their Duty, and neither of the two dared to stir for fear of giving Advantage to the other, which, when supported by the Forces and Authority of the Government, could not fail of gaining the Ascendant.

THIS Wall of Separation erected by *Schah-Abas* in all Parts of the Kingdom, and carefully kept up by the Skill and Vigilance of the Governors, had more Force and Virtue towards maintaining the Peace of the Cities and Provinces, than the most numerous Garrisons could have had ; so that from the Time of *Schah-Abas*, to the Troubles of the latter Times, there was not one Town that discovered so much as a Thought of revolting ; and if the same Policy had been observed at *Candahar*, as in the other Governments of the Kingdom, 'tis not to be doubted but it would

would have removed all Pretence for that Rebellion which was the Cause of the late Revolution.

WHEN *Schah-Abas* the Great took that City, his first Care was to establish two different Factions in it, and to keep them up by the same Methods which he made use of in the other Towns of his Monarchy. But the City being retaken by the Mogul, under the Reign of *Schah-Sefi*, Grandson and Successor to *Schah-Abas*, the Customs which the latter had established there, vanished by Degrees, and were abolished by Non-usage: And though *Schah-Abas II.* Son and Successor to *Schah-Sefi*, reconquered it afterwards, yet either from a sort of Regard for a Frontier Town, which they had a Mind to spare, or from the Indolence of the Ministers, they neglected to revive the same Seeds of Discord, and the same Practices which *Schah-Abas II.* had established there when he conquered it; a Negligence which it was not foreseen, would have been attended with Consequences so fatal, and which, as was afterwards proved, cost the Race of the *Sophies* the Loss of the Throne.

THE fomenting of these civil Discords was one of that kind of Engines which require skilful Hands to manage them, and which cause as much Disorder when they come to fall in Pieces, and to be entangled by the Folly or Luke-warmness of those who have the Direction of them, as they do Good in a State when they are well conducted, and their Springs kept in good Repair. This was the very Case in the Reign of *Schah-Hussein*, during which those domestick Animosities between the Inhabitants of one and the same Town, being no longer moderated by an Authority strong enough to keep them within due Bounds, quickly broke out into open Wars. The two Parties did not attack one another now with Stones and Clubs, but with martial Arms; and, upon some Occasions, Matters were pushed so far, that after a great deal of Blood spilt, they were obliged to send for Troops on Purpose from the Neighbouring Provinces, in

in order to force the Combatants on both Sides to part, and to restore Peace. These Outrages were the more frequent, because the Governors of the Towns, who found their Account in it, contributed to them; and, after having secretly kindled the Flame by Means of their Emissaries, who set them together by the Ears, they made a Handle of it to condemn each Party to a great Fine, which they put in their own Pockets.

THE same Spirit of Discord and Antipathy raged in the Country, as in the City; and 'tis certain, indeed, that when such Divisions are well managed, a Prince is sure to find in one Half of his Subjects a good Safeguard against the Enterprizes of the other. But, on the other Hand, when this Policy is carried too far, it deprives him of the Service of those Forces which would undoubtedly be a great Assistance to him, if their mutual Animosity did not hinder their acting in Concert. *Schah-Hussein* sadly experienced this during the Siege of *Ispahan*: Some Leagues from that City there were two very brave Nations, who lived under Tents, after the Manner of the *Tartars*, viz. the *Lorains*, and the *Bachtilarians*. Each of them was able to raise an Army of 20000 Men, one of which was sufficient to force the Rebels to raise the Siege. But because each Army was divided into two Factions, like the rest of the Kingdom, and because each of those Factions was for depriving the other of the Honour that might accrue to it of having delivered the Capital, they could never agree to make War together; so that this Army, which, if they had been united and acted in Concert, would have infallibly defeated the Rebels, and saved the King and the Capital, was defeated itself, and put to flight, because they were divided into two Bodies, which acting separately and independently on each other, were too weak apart to make Head against an Enemy equal in Valour, and much superior in Number.

SUCH, therefore, was the Constitution of the Government in *Persia*, which was only supported by
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an exact *Equilibrium* between the Parties. The Spirit of Division was therein so generally propagated, that there was not a single Man but was of one or other Faction. From hence 'tis easy to imagine what Havock it made at the Court, that is to say, in a Country where the Spirit of Faction was always kept up; when it was banished from the rest of the World. Indeed it did not break out there, as it did among the Common People, in Insults, Quarrels, and Scuffles; but Attacks are not the less vigorous and dangerous for being silent and crafty. There were always two Factions at Court in the Reigns of *Schah-Hussein's* Predecessors, as well as in his Time; but the Disorders they occasioned were not the same by much, as they were at the Court of *Schah-Hussein*. As those Princes governed by themselves; and as they knew how to strike a Terror, their Authority kept both Parties in Awe; and if any Storm was formed to the Umbrage of the Throne, a Regard for the Sovereign quickly dispersed it. But it was not so in the Reign of *Schah-Hussein*, who was a Prince formed rather for Obedience than Command, too simple to discover the Artifices of those who were about him, and too weak to defend himself against them, if he had known their Designs. The Eunuchs, whose Authority, though it was great so early as the latter Times of his Predecessor *Schah-Solyman*, was always checked by the Fear of displeasing a King, who in the Choice of his Ministers, designed they should be no more than Ministers, were not under the same Restraint in the Reign of *Schah-Hussein* his Son and Successor: And being invested with a Power which made them like so many Kings, they could have desired nothing more, if they could but have agreed together. But it was a Thing impossible, considering the inveterate Antipathy which there was between the White Eunuchs and the Black ones, and which the Kings of *Persia* all along made it a Maxim in Politicks to keep up and foment. *Schah-Hussein* not able to keep a Balance between the two Parties, to whom he had equal
Obligation,

Obligation, and to whom he was under equal Subjection, gave Ear by Turns to both, and each in Turn was oblig'd to submit, from whence arose those frequent Alterations which were made in the Governments, in the Command of the Armies, and in the principal and most important Places of the Kingdom.

THE Eunuchs of the two Complexions agreed only in one Thing, which was to have the Management of all Affairs, exclusive of all other Persons. But beyond this, each of these Casts had their separate Views and particular Creatures, which each Party endeavour'd to advance, as well to make a Shew of their Credit, as to support their Fortune. And as there was no Preferment to be got, but through the Canal of those almighty Ministers and Dispensers of all Favours, there was a Necessity of adhering to either the White or Black Eunuchs, of whose two Factions, by necessary Consequence, the whole Court consisted. When either of the two Parties had procur'd a Government for one of their Creatures, the contrary Party presently set all Engines at Work to remove him, and to put one of theirs in his Place; and it being always more easy to do Hurt than Good, especially under a weak Prince, the End was obtain'd with little or no Difficulty. But the new Substitute was no sooner in Place, than he was expos'd to the same Shocks, and immediately demolish'd. Consequently every Governor who judg'd what might come to pass from what had happen'd; and who by the speedy Removal of his Predecessor, was warn'd that his own was at hand, left no Time, but hasten'd to fill his Purse, that he might have wherewithal to purchase a new Place, or to defend himself against any Prosecution he had to apprehend for his Oppressions, the whole at the Expence of the poor People, who were fleeced in all Respects by those too frequent Alterations, as has been already observ'd.

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THE same thing was done, but with much greater Prejudice to the State, with Respect to the Command of the Armies: A General sway'd by either of the two Factions, was no sooner set out upon any Expedition, but the other did all they could to render it abortive; the Troops were never in the Condition they should be, neither for Number nor Quality, or else they did not arrive soon enough in the Field: Ammunition or Provisions were always wanting, insomuch that an Army, which was already half ruin'd by Scarcity and the Want of the greatest Necessaries, did not hold out against an Enemy far inferior in Number; and to this was owing the Ruin of several flourishing Armies in the Reign of *Schah-Hussein*, which were cut in Pieces with their Generals in the Wars which the State had engag'd in against the *Lesgians* and *Aghvans*. Nothing perhaps contributed more than this ill Conduct to draw the latter to *Ispahan*, of which they at last made themselves Masters. What is most deplorable in all this, is, that notwithstanding the Desolation over the whole Kingdom from Losses so considerable, none bore a Part in it but the Adherents of the Eunuchs, who had espoused the routed General, while those of the contrary Party triumph'd in the publick Calamity, of which they had under hand been the first Movers: They did not value the Death of 30000 Men; the Prejudice the opposite Faction receiv'd by such a Faction, made them easy, while the whole Kingdom suffer'd by it; and when an able experienc'd General dropp'd, they consider'd it in no other View, than as the Loss of an Enemy that made Way for one of their Creatures. Thus did these Halves of Men insolently sport with the Fortune of the Grandees, the Lives of private Men, and the Forces of all the State.

'Tis surprizing that the Grandees of the Kingdom could suffer under such base Tyranny, without repining, and that they did not exert all the Credit and Authority which they might derive from their Birth and Services to set themselves free; but the Seeds of Jealousy

Jealousy and Discord which the Eunuchs had had the Policy to propagate in the most considerable and most potent Families, by setting Brothers against Brothers, had put them out of a Condition to undertake any thing. This they did with Regard to *Alimerdam-Kan*, the greatest Captain of that Time in *Persia*, and the only one perhaps that was capable to hinder the Revolution, as he would infallibly have done, if his Projects had not been thwarted. The Power, Abilities, and great Reputation of that Nobleman giving them Umbrage, they set his own Brother upon his Back, and under some Pretence, or other, which Ministers are never at a Loss for to ruin whom they please, they turn'd him out of his Government, which he held in the same Nature as a Principality hereditary in his Family; and after having banish'd him to *Kyrman*, they put his Brother in his Place. They made use of the same Artifice against the Princes of *Gengea* and *Georgia*, by overturning the antient Order of Succession in their Families. When the Ancestors of those Princes, whom *Schah-Abas the Great* subdued more by Cunning than Strength, consented to become Vassals to the Crown, it was on Condition that their Principalities should always remain hereditary in their Family: And though generally speaking, the King of *Persia* had it in his Power to chuse out of the Princes of one and the same Family, which soever he pleased to be Governor in Chief, it was always the constant Practice under *Schah-Hussein's* Predecessors, to conform in that Point to the Order of Nature, and to give the Preference to the Elder, exclusive of the Younger. The Eunuchs under *Schah-Hussein* had no Regard to this Custom, but having it only in their View to divide and embroil Families, from a Jealousy of their Grandeur and Interest, they chose which soever of the Family they thought fit, to invest him with the Principality, by preferring the Younger in Contempt of the Elder. This irregular Conduct, which made a Division in those great Families, and set the Brothers together by

the Ears, turn'd to the Prejudice of the State. They employ'd those Forces to make War with one another, which might have been usefully employ'd against the Enemies of the Kingdom ; nay, often one of the Parties held Intelligence with them, and under-hand assisted them ; so that upon a certain Occasion, when the Prince of *Gengea* commanded the *Persian* Army against the *Lesgians* upon the Frontiers of the Kingdom, he had like to have fallen into the Enemy's Hands, through the Treachery of his Brother, whom they had unjustly dispossest of his Principality : For *Wachtanga* was the only Prince of the Family of the Princes of *Georgia*, who, with regard to this arbitrary Disposal of the Principalities, which the Eunuchs had introduc'd, was Proof against the general Temptation ; for the Principality having been offered to him to the Prejudice of his elder Brother, he generously refused it from a Sentiment of Equity, saying, *That if God had been willing he should have been Prince of Georgia, he would have sent him into the World before his Brother, to whom the Principality rightfully belong'd as his elder Brother, and who could not be deprived of it without Injustice.*

'Tis natural to imagine from the Manner of giving away Governments in the Reign of *Schah-Hussein*, and by the frequent Changes owing to the Intrigues of the two opposite Factions of the White and Black Eunuchs, that the People had a great deal to suffer under Governors who regarded their Post no more than a Place to bait at, made it more their Study to pillage the Cities and Provinces, than to keep up good Order ; and this they did with the less Caution and Reserve, because they were very sensible that they might do it with Impunity.

SCHAH-HUSSEIN was born with a Disposition, which was kind, and an Enemy to all manner of Violence : This Temper of his, in which there was as great a Mixture of Fear and Folly, as of true Humanity, required a wise Corrective in a Prince of his Character.

rafter. It happen'd, on the contrary, that it was even made worse by the selfish Insinuations of the Eunuchs that governed him; and who by horribly representing to him certain Instances of Severity, of which some of his Predecessors had been guilty, render'd him incapable of consenting to any Severity, though never so moderate or necessary.

NOTHING is more proper to characterise this Prince, and to shew what Notion he had of Clemency, than a Passage I am going to mention, of which the whole Court was witness. In the Gardens of his Palace there was a Pond, on which a great Number of Ducks was always swimming. *Schah-Hussein* took a Pleasure sometimes to fire his Pistol over the Pond, not to hurt, but only to frighten them. It happened one Day unluckily and undesignedly, that one of those Shots wounded some of the Ducks; at which he himself was as much terrified as if he had really committed Murder, and made the same Exclamation as is customary in *Persia* upon the shedding of human Blood, by saying, *Kanluoldum*, i. e. *I am polluted with Blood*; and that very Instant he caused two hundred Tomans to be given to the Poor, as an Atonement for what he thought a great Sin.

A Prince who was so tender conscienc'd in the Point of wounding a few Ducks, was very loth to give his Consent to the shedding of human Blood, though as a Punishment of the greatest Crimes: And for twenty Years, and more, that his Reign had lasted, he never pass'd one Sentence of Death, and consequently never put on the Red Habit, which was the specifick Colour the Kings of *Persia* wore when they were to pronounce any Sentence of Death.

THE Eunuchs found a two-fold Advantage in that boundless Clemency, with which they had inspir'd *Schah-Hussein*; first of all, because it secur'd their own Heads upon their Shoulders; secondly, because contrary to the Principles of good Government which the Great *Schah-Abas* had establish'd, and contrary to

the Practice of the Kings of *Persia*, they had reduc'd all the Pains, even in the most punishable Crimes, to Forfeitures and Fines, which they had the Cunning, as we shall now observe, to convert to their own Profit.

BEFORE *Schah-Hussein's* Reign, nothing was more unusual in the Punishment of the Grandees, than the Forfeiture of Estates. Their Heads paid for their Guilt, but the Estates remain'd in the Families, who by that Means always supported themselves, and were in a Condition to fill the great Posts, and to serve the Prince with Dignity. In this they conform'd to the Maxims of the great *Schah-Abas*, who among the political Principles he left to his Successors, recommended this in particular, that they ought to punish the Great and the Rich with corporal Pains, and, on the contrary, the Vulgar and the Poor with pecuniary Fines. He made this Maxim his Foundation, that the former being possessed of great Estates, were more affected by corporal Punishment than by the Diminution of their Wealth; whereas the latter, who abounded in nothing, would be affected more by the least pecuniary Fine, than by bodily Pains. And under the Reigns of that Prince, and his Successors, to the last who was dethron'd, when a great Man was guilty of any Fault that did not deserve Death, he was condemned to receive a certain Number of Blows upon the Soles of his Feet; a Punishment so severe, that sometimes they died of it, or at least were not able for a long while to set their Feet upon the Ground. The Consequence was, that the Fear of this Punishment for Faults that were not capital, and the Apprehension of suffering Death for those that were, kept the chief Officers of the Court, the Governors of the Towns and Provinces, and even the interior Magistrates, in Awe, because they were certain that the slightest Abuse which they should make of the Authority they were trusted with, would be severely punished in their Persons.

THE false Notion of Clemency, with which the Eunuchs inspir'd *Schah-Hussein*, buried those wise Maxims in Oblivion, and changed the Sentences of Death into Forfeiture of Estates, and corporal Punishments into pecuniary Fines, to the Advantage of those avaritious Ministers, who abusing the Simplicity of their Master, and the timorous Piety which he exercised in his Religion, made him scrupulous of admitting into his own Treasure those Fines and Forfeitures which they represented to him as the Fruits of Iniquity, and which they made no Scruple to receive from his Hands, as a Gratuity for themselves, their Adherents, and Creatures.

As Fear only is the most effectual Motive to keep Men in their Duty, especially among People over whose Conduct the Principles of Religion and Morality have but small Influence, it was hardly possible but the Assurance of Impunity must relax all the Springs of Government. Consequently all that were in Authority in the Towns and Provinces, only made use of it to satisfy their insatiable Avarice. Being persuaded that they had nothing to fear, provided they had wherewithal to feed their Protectors, and that the worst they could undergo, would be to refund Part of what they had robb'd, they took care to plunder enough, that they might be in a Condition to live at their Ease, even after they had paid great Fines; so that all they minded, was to invent and put in Practice new Tricks every Day to obtain their Ends.

THE Tributes in *Persia* are very moderate, and, as every one knows what he is to pay, the Recovery of it is not difficult nor burthensome to private Persons. Every Town or Village, for Instance, is assessed to pay a certain fixed Sum which stands, as it were, for the Capital of what it is to pay; but the casual and indirect Extortions always far exceed the Capital; which will appear more plain from what follows.

IN the Principality of *Gengea* there's a Town consisting of two hundred *Armenian* Families. This

Town is Part of the Appennage of the King's Mother, to whom it pays fifty Tomans, or three thousand Livres. It happened some Years ago, that in one Week only a Fine of three hundred Tomans, or eighteen thousand Livres, was paid by some of the principal Townsmen. This is a Fact, of which the Author who furnished the chief Memoirs of this History was a Witness.

ONE of the Princes of *Georgia* enjoys five Towns, or Villages, which the King of *Persia* mortgaged to him in *Hyrkania*; and which brings him in a Revenue of forty-five Tomans, or seventeen hundred Livres. There's a sort of Intendant called *Deroga*, who has Jurisdiction over those five Towns, and whose Business is not only to raise that Sum, but also to do Justice, and to prevent the Disorders and Quarrels which often arise with the Inhabitants of the adjacent Towns, either upon Account of Water, which is very scarce in *Persia*, or on Account of the Pasture, which every one disputes to that Degree that sometimes they proceed to Blows. This *Deroga* has twenty Guards, whom he is obliged to maintain at his own Charge. Besides the Tribute of forty-five Tomans which he levies upon the five Towns of his Jurisdiction, he is also obliged to furnish forty-five more under Colour of a Free-Gift, to keep himself in his Post; and though he has no other Estate but the Fines, of which he is even obliged to give one Half to his principal Patron, he finds in the other Half of those Fines not only enough to discharge his Free-Gift, to pay his twenty Guards, and to maintain himself in Plenty, but also to enrich himself. As these Fines are arbitrary, there's Cause to believe that these sort of Judges, who profit by them, always extend them to the highest Pitch.

OF this we may judge by another Fact, of which my Author was Witness. In a Town named *Akuli*, one of the most considerable that the *Armenians* possess in *Persia*, the *Deroga* that commanded there perceiving

ving a private Man's Afs, who lived there, browsing in his Neighbour's Vineyard, fined the Owner of the Afs fifty Crowns. The Owner of the Vineyard asking Pardon for his Neighbour, by representing that he did not take Offence at it; and that in order to keep up a good Understanding, and Friendship among Neighbours, they did not take it amiss if any one's Afs happened to stray into a Neighbour's Vineyard; the wise *Deroga* upon this Representation condemned the Owner of the Vineyard to the same Fine of fifty Crowns; and then told them both, that it was to teach them how to keep what they had.

BUT no wonder that a *Deroga* of a Village should take that Liberty to oppress the People after that Manner in a Corner of a Province, when the *Deroga* of *Ispahan* itself, in the Capital, and under the Nose of the King, launches out into Enormities that are still more flagrant. One of the chief Functions of this Magistrate was to take care of the Security of the City, especially against Night-Robbers; in which respect this must be said in Justice to him, that he was such an Enemy to them, that, Thanks to his Care and Vigilance, there was not one who escaped him. But instead of prosecuting them when they were taken, he only obliged them to ransom themselves like Prisoners of War; and was so exceeding civil to them, that when he found any of them not in a Condition to redeem their Liberty, he had the Charity to let them out of Prison in the Night-time to commit fresh Robberies; which they did with the greater Security, because such as were supposed to be in Prison, and who actually came thither for shelter, as soon as they had robbed, were far from being suspected; so that by the Means of a second Robbery they secured themselves from the Punishment they had deserved for the first. What I have now mentioned was publicly known to every Body at *Ispahan*, not long before the City was besieged.

AND while I am upon the Article of this Magistrate, I cannot omit a second Trick of his, which will appear to be as flagrant as the former. An *Armenian* going to him for Justice against a Night-Robber who broke open his House, the *Deroga* committed the Thief to Prison, order'd the Goods he had stolen to be brought home to his House, and then said to the injured Party, that, if he expected any Justice, he must prove the Theft to him by Evidence, and that the Goods so robbed did appertain to him. The *Armenian*, who was afraid of some foul Play from that strange Judge, thought the shortest Way would be to compound with the Thief himself, and to engage him, on giving him up Part of the Goods which he had stolen, to confess the Theft before the *Deroga*. The Thief consented to the whole, and confessed the Robbery in Presence of the Judge. The *Armenian*, who thought the Affair was determined by the Confession of the Delinquent, according to Law, was very far out in his Reckoning, for the *Deroga* turning towards him in a very cold Manner, said, *What! have you no better Witnesses to produce than this? A Rogue! a Thief! You would have me take his Evidence? Go, Friend, bring me Witnesses of Credit, Witnesses that are unexceptionable, Mussulmen, and not Armenians, and then I'll hear you.* Thus was Justice dispensed at *Ispahan* in the Reign of *Schah-Hussein*; and by the Manner that the chief Magistrate of the Capital conducted himself in this Respect under the Nose of the King, in the Sight of his Ministers, and to every Body's Knowledge, one may judge how it far'd in the Provinces.

ONE of the Disorders that was most complained of, and which was not so tolerable because it had not been so customary, was, I do not only say the Neglect of the Governors, with Respect to the Safety of the Roads, but also the partial Connivance they gave to the Highwaymen that infested them, and with whom they divided the Booty. There's not a Country in the
World

World where the Roads were as secure as they were in *Persia*, before the Reign of *Schah-Hussein*. They must thank *Schah-Abas* the Great for it, whom I am often obliged to quote, because *Persia* owes what is excellent in her civil Government to those wise Regulations; and would not have fallen into the Desolation she labours under at this Day, if she had not deviated from them.

THAT great Prince, who knew that Trade is the Wealth of a Kingdom, and that nothing was more effectual to bring foreign Merchants into the Country, than to secure them from all Manner of Insult and Surprise in their Voyages, or Journies, had established so good an Order with relation to that in his Dominions, that People might travel there with as much Safety as they do at Noon-Day in the most civilized Towns of *Europe*. Guards were posted at proper Distances upon all the great Roads for that Purpose, which, without being chargeable to the Government, were maintained out of very moderate Duties which they levied upon every Load, and in Proportion to the Load, that is to say, somewhat more for a Camel's Load than for that of a Horse: Which Duty was called *Raderie*, and the Guards *Raders*. They never committed any Robberies by main Force or Violence; but when, notwithstanding the Vigilance of the *Raders*, any was committed secretly, and by Surprise, the Governor of the Town, in whose District the Robbery happened, was obliged to make good the Merchant's Loss, at the Rate specified in his Book of Accompts, including the Money he had paid, both for Purchase and Customs. As for the Robbers, considering how the *Raders*, or Patrols, were posted, that is to say, in Places through which there was a Necessity for them to pass, it was almost impossible for them to escape; and when they were once taken, they had no Mercy to expect. They were put to Death by very cruel Tortures, as may be seen in *Tavernier, Lib. v. Cap. 13.* who mentions
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three or four different Kinds of it, the least of which strikes Horror.

THIS Policy so wisely established by *Schah-Abas*, was always kept up without Intermission under his Successors, as we are assured by the same *Tavernier*, who travelled in *Persia* in the Reign of *Schah-Solyman*, who was *Schah-Hussein's* Predecessor. He says in one Place, *Lib. i. Cap. 4.* that the Roads there were so secure that they had no need to rendezvous, or travel in Caravans and Companies; and, as to the Obligation the Governors of the Places were under to reimburse the Merchants what they had been robbed of, nothing can be a better Proof that it was subsisting even at that Time in its utmost Rigour, than a Story which *Tavernier* tells of himself, *Lib. v. Cap. 13.* concerning two Bales that he was robbed of. The Governor of the City where the Robbery was committed, paid him on the Credit of his Book and Vouchers, 1400 Piaftres, which were his Demand, that is to say, above four thousand Livres; and that with so good a Grace, that after he had paid him, he likewise made him a Present of Wine and Provisions.

IT was no longer so in the Reign of *Schah-Hussein*, and nothing, perhaps, is a fuller Indication to what a Degree the Government was degenerated and weakened under that Prince, than the Highway-Robberies, which were not only tolerated, but also encouraged, and in a manner authorized. The Caravans did not dare to stop any longer in the Villages, but chose rather to encamp under Tents, because of the Difficulty of avoiding the Ambushes of the Peasants: And they were obliged to keep constant Guard, and to watch every Man in their Turn. Yet, notwithstanding all their Vigilance and Precaution, it was not possible totally to escape out of the Hands of People, who refined every Day in a Calling which was their capital Livelihood. The very Mothers encouraged their Children to it, by promising them a good Sup-
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per if they had the Cunning to make a good Prize. It was to no Purpose when any thing was lost to complain to the Governor of the Place : It was not now as in the Time of *Schah-Solyman*, or in the Reigns of the other Kings of *Persia*, from *Schah-Abas* the Great, when the Governors were obliged to give an Account of the Robberies committed upon the Lands of their Jurisdiction, and to make good the Loss. All the Answer that one of those Governors gave to a Merchant of *Teflis*, who had been robbed of considerable Effects, was this ; *Shew me the Robber, and I'll oblige him to make you Restitution.* 'Tis true, that the Merchant's Reply to him was enough to confound him ; *Put me in your Place*, said he to him, *and yourself in mine, and I'll soon find you out the Robber.* But it was all one, and how sharp soever the Reply was, the Governor was not offended at it ; for there are no People that bear Reproaches and Injuries more patiently than those of Quality in *Persia*. If a Creditor that cannot get his Money, say the most provoking Things in the World to their Face, they take no Exceptions at it, but hear him with an Air of Indifference and Insensibility which is not to be parallell'd, which made Father *Joseph Maria* say in his *Persian Treasure*, *That the Phlegm of the Italians, compar'd to that of the Persians, is Passion and Fury.*

A T last Things came to such a Pass, that the Merchants in the Caravans not being able to guard against the Subtlety of the Robbers, nor to obtain Justice of the Governors, were reduced to compound with the Highwaymen themselves, either by making a Sort of Treaty of Insurance with them, whereby they gave them a certain Sum, that they might not be robb'd, or by leaving them when they were robb'd in full Possession and Property of one Half of the Robbery to save the other. The Highwaymen consented to it, and more readily, because they found their Account in it. For as they are very easily detected in *Persia*, as every Canton knows those that follow this Calling,
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and as from Hatred or Envy they betray and discover one another, a Caravan was no sooner gone by, but the Governor, who knew where to find them, arrested them, and took away all that they had robb'd, if they did not prevent it, by carrying him his Part, which was always the best Share of the Booty. However, by this Conduct they saved themselves from a Fine, which he would infallibly have condemned them to pay to him; for as to other Punishments they were out of Date, especially that of Death, and those severe Punishments used in former Reigns. Every thing ended in pecuniary Fines, which reduced those Wretches to such a State of Misery, as put them under the Necessity of robbing again for Subsistence; and indeed this was the Intention of the Governors, who were too great Gainers by their Plunder to be glad to see it at an End, so that when they condemned any Robber to a Fine, it seems it was not so much for having robb'd, as because he did not do it with Cunning; from whence it happen'd, that many of those Miscreants, having nothing to depend on but the Business of Stealing, studied to render themselves expert and accomplish'd at it, and to attain to the same Degree of Skill with those Knaves who in *Persia* are called *Karachyrsis*, and are of surprizing Dexterity and Cunning. Thus was the Face of Affairs alter'd to such a Degree, that the same Governors, who under the preceding Reign had been the Protectors of the Caravans, and Sureties for all that were robbed on the publick Roads, became in the Reign of *Schah-Hussein*, the Instigators and Accomplices of the Robberies then committed, insomuch that one might justly have applied to them the Moral of the Fable of *Musellim-Sade*, a famous *Persian* Poet, where he says, *That a Traveller having plucked a Sheep from the Jaws of a Wolf, threw it upon his Shoulders, and carried it home; and that while the poor Beast was rejoycing in its happy Deliverance, the Traveller stuck his Knife into his Throat, which made the poor Sheep, when dying, to say to the Traveller, You sa-*
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ved me from the Teeth of the Wolf, 'tis true, but you are the same to me as a Wolf.

WHILE all Things ran thus to Decay, both in the Country and the Capital, *Schah-Hussein* lay, as it were, buried in his Haram; and abandoning the rest of his Dominions to the Discretion of his principal Eunuchs, he seem'd to have no Taste for any other Place of Pleasure but this, which engrossed all his Thoughts, and the Expences of which swallowed up the greatest Part of his Finances. He looked upon his Haram as his particular Kingdom, and the only one that deserv'd his Regard. As Kings who have any Notion of Glory have generally a Passion either to signalize themselves by new Conquests, or to render themselves formidable to their Neighbours, by numerous Armies, that are always well paid, and in good Condition, or to enrich their Dominions by a flourishing Commerce: So this Prince discovered a Passion to distinguish himself by the Number and Beauty of the Women that he kept in his Haram, by the Riches of their Habits, the Magnificence of their Furniture, by the Enquiry after and Profusion of every thing which could contribute to render his Stay there as delightful as possible; and he boasted publickly, that he would spare no Cost to out-strip the most riotous and most voluptuous Kings that ever were in the World. 'Tis very certain, however, that none of his Predecessors came near what we have seen of this kind in his Reign, either for the vast Number of Women, with which he had filled his Haram, or for the extraordinary Luxury and Splendor in which he maintained them. His first Care in the Beginning of his Reign, was to cause a general Search to be made for all the handsome Women in *Persia*, and to order them to be brought to his Haram. The Crop was so plentiful, and seem'd so fresh, that it serv'd to give Name to the Year (1701.) wherein it was gather'd, which after that Time was called the Year *Kysveran*, i. e. *the Year of Women*. There is hardly a Country inhabited by so many different Nations as *Persia*.
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Be a young Woman of what Nation soever, except the *Jewish*, which was excluded, if she was but handsome, she was pick'd up for the King's Haram. The Governors of the Provinces, who knew their Master's Taste, and that all the Services they were capable of doing him in the Government were nothing in his Esteem, compar'd with the Merit of enriching and adorning his Haram with some uncommon Beauty, made it their Business to look out every where, and to procure them at any Price; and when they were so happy as to be able to accompany the Tribute of the Province, which they sent every Year to *Ispahan*, with some Present of this Nature, they were persuaded that they had paid a better Compliment, and that the King was more obliged to them, than if they had sent double the Sum to what the Province used to pay. Each of those Women had her particular Eunuch and Chamber-Maid, and as to the Expence of the Toilet and Provisions, it had no Bounds from a Prince who thought it an Honour to out-do every thing that had been done of this Nature. Besides what he laid out upon them in the Haram, he gave them a considerable Portion when they went forth to be married. This was done sometimes, though very rarely, during the preceding Reigns; but it was very common in *Schah-Hussain's* Time, who bestowed those Women in Marriage, not only to his Courtiers, but also to the inferior Officers of his Palace, and to his very Cooks. As to the Great Men's Daughters that had been bred up in the Haram, he married them to other great Lords, not only after they had lost their Virginity, but when they were actually with Child. The worst of all for these Lords was, that whatever Children they had elsewhere, the Child that was born of this Venter became the eldest of the Family, and went away with the Bulk of their Estates. In 1719. the Governor of *Erivan* was obliged to receive on this Footing the Daughter of a Prince of *Georgia*, nam'd *Kostrou-Kan*, whom the King sent to him

him from his Haram, with an Heir that he did not expect. There are several considerable Families in *Persia*, which boast of such Extraction, and call themselves *Schab-Zade*, i. e. *King's Sons*, for *Za* signifies *Son*, and *Schab* *King*. Of this Number is the illustrious Family of the hereditary Princes of *Gengea*, descended from *Solyman*, the Predecessor of *Schab-Hussein*. But these *Schab-Zades* are so multiplied since, that their great Number has made them sink considerably in the Esteem they were held in heretofore, and before the late Revolution there were a great many of them at *Ispahan* who made a very mean Figure there.

FROM the great Number of Women with which *Schab-Hussein* had stored his Haram, we may infer what an Attendance there must be of Eunuchs, either for their Service, or their Guard, which could not but increase in Proportion. Never King of *Persia* had so many by far, for they almost equalled the Number of his own Guards, and indeed he had no other Guard at the Times of the *Kourouk*, which I am now to give an Account of.

'TIS the Custom in *Persia*, that when the King removes from *Ispahan* along with the Ladies of his Haram, to any of his Pleasure Houses, a Proclamation is made three Days beforehand, of the Hour which he intends to go abroad in, and the Streets through which he is to pass. This Proclamation is called the *Kourouk*; and 'tis to forbid every Man from staying in the Houses that look into the Streets, through which the King is to pass, or in the Country for two Leagues round. Now as in *Persia* they have no Use either of Coaches or Waggon, because of the Multitude of little Canals which cut the Country, and are so managed as to water the Lands, all the Ladies ride upon Horses or Mules, with each their Eunuch to hold the Bridle: As to the Servant Maids, they ride upon Asses; and one of *Schab-Hussein's* great Diversions in these *Kourouks*, was to whip those Asses till they threw their Riders, and made Sport for the others. As the Law,
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which banished Men from all Places through which the King pass'd with all this Equipage, did also keep off his own Guard, he could then have no other but his Eunuchs, who surounded this whole Troop with Guns and Swords. Besides them there were two other considerable Bodies of Eunuchs, one of which advanced very far before the Troop, and the other closed the March at the same Distance, not to mention those that were employ'd, either to search the Houses by which they pass'd, to see if no Man lay hid there, or to scour the Country, in order to put all to the Sword that they found within the Limits prohibited by the *Kourouk*. No doubt there must be a vast Number of Eunuchs to fill all those different Posts. Mean time a great Number must necessarily remain, either for the Guard of the Women's Haram, or of that which was the Prison to the King's Brothers and Children, who were never more narrowly watch'd than in the King's Absence. The greater was this Number of Eunuchs, the more was the Expence; and 'tis certain, that several good Regiments might have been maintain'd with the Money that it cost to provide for the Number of Eunuchs which *Schah-Hussein* had more than his Predecessors.

No doubt it was a great Burthen to the State to maintain the Haram in the Degree it was risen to under this Prince, who had trebled the Expence of it to what it was in the Time of his Predecessors; but it may be said, that he was yet more lavish in other Things, in which those Princes were always very moderate, and particularly in Building, in which he buried immense Sums, and even exhausted the Treasures of the Kings that had reign'd before him. Though their antient Palace was so sumptuous and magnificent, that it may be look'd upon as a Monument of their Splendor, he pull'd it all down, and built a new one, with an Expence that shew'd he did not value what it cost.

THIS Building was scarce compleated, but he undertook a new one yet more considerable at *Farabath*,
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one of his Pleasure Houses, about a League from *Isfahan*. The Buildings which he raised there were so vast and magnificent, that he was tempted more than once to remove his Haram thither, and to make it his usual Residence. As he had built in a Place that was extremely dry, the greatest Expence he was at in this Undertaking was for Water, which was absolutely wanting there, and which they were fain to bring thither from a great Distance by Stone Troughs, the Expences and Labour of which cannot be conceiv'd, says my Author, but by those who have seen it.

THE burning of the Great Royal Salon, where the King used to give Audience to the Ambassadors, and to make his publick Entertainments, was another Occasion of Expence to *Schah-Hussein*, which was more necessary indeed, but help'd towards dreining his Finances. This great Salon, nam'd *Tchehel-Setoon*, i. e. *Forty Pillars*, because it actually stands upon so many Columns, is a Building that stands by it self in the Midst of the Gardens of the Royal Palace of *Isfahan*. *Chardin*, who has given a very exact Representation of it in the Description of *Isfahan*, speaks of it as the most stately Apartment in the Palace. It happened that after one of those publick Entertainments which the King sometimes made there in the Night Time, a Fire broke out there, which though it was very violent before it was perceiv'd, Part of the costly Furniture of it might perhaps have been sav'd, and Measures were taken for that Purpose, when *Schah-Hussein*, from a Motive of Submission to the Will of God, forbade the Fire to be put out, saying, *That as it was the Will of the Lord that his Salon should be burnt, he would not oppose it*; and though there was nothing more rich and sumptuous throughout the whole Palace than the Furniture of this Salon, which was on Purpose to display the Magnificence of this Prince, he chose from a Spirit of Resignation to Providence, to continue at the Fire till the whole was consumed. But his Resignation did not hinder him from

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raising it again, and rebuilding it with more Splendor than the former.

BESIDES all these stately Edifices, he erected another, which may be reckoned a Monument of his Piety, as well as of his Power. It was a Monastery for *Dervishes*, the Magnificence of which may be imagined by the chief Gate of it only, which is of massy Silver. But that which still doubled the prodigious Expence of all those great Buildings, is, that he never digested any of his Plans thoroughly, and that upon a new Thought he demolished the whole Pile to the Ground, and begun again.

IT was hardly possible but all those extraordinary Expences must hurt his Finances; but his religious Zeal made him undertake an unseasonable Pilgrimage, which not only compleatly drein'd his Exchequer, but also ruin'd all the Provinces through which he pass'd. There's a famous Monastery on the Confines of *Persia*, next to *Great Tartary*, dedicated to a Santon, or Saint, of *Aly's Sect*, in a little Town named *Meszat*, which is above two hundred Leagues from *Ispahan*. Thither his Devotion carried him, attended by all the Women of his Haram, and followed by a Train of 60000 Men, which was so expensive, that half the Sum that his Journey cost him, would have defray'd the Charge of all the Expeditions against the Rebels of *Candahar*, of which more hereafter.

WE must do this Prince the Justice, however, to observe, that as much attach'd as he was to his Religion, he was not opinionated, and had no more than his Predecessors, especially since *Schah-Abas the Great*, any thing of that Aversion and brutal Rage which the *Mahometans* of *Omar's Sect*, such as the *Turks* are, express against all other Religions, and especially the Christian. This may partly be ascribed to the Character of the Genius of the *Persians*, naturally inclined to Kindness and Humanity, but much more to the Extraction of almost all the Kings of *Persia* since *Schah-Abas* that reduced *Persia*, who are descended from

from *Georgian* Princesses or Ladies; for as they are originally Christians, they still preserve, even in the Midst of Mahometism, in which they are train'd up from their Infancy, a very strong Inclination for the Religion of their Ancestors and their Country: They have also for the most Part retain'd the Custom of taking their Christian Names. The Grandmother of the dethron'd King was called *Mary-Begum*, i. e. *Princess Mary*, for in *Persia*, as well as in the *Indies*, at the Mogul's Court, the Title of *Begum* is the peculiar Distinction of the Princesses. This Custom of taking the Name of *Mary* has passed from the Haram to the other Ladies of *Persia*, especially at *Ispahan*, where 'tis a very common Name. The Women being accustomed to the Name, they have a Sort of Veneration for the Holy Virgin from whom it comes; they honour her Images, receive and preserve them with Respect, and *Schah-Hussein* himself voluntarily admitted them, notwithstanding the Law of *Mahomet*, which positively forbids it.

As in *Persia* the King's Children are brought up under the Eyes of their Mother till seven Years of Age, and are permitted to see them now and then afterwards, no Wonder that they inspire them with Sentiments for a Religion which indeed they scarce know any thing of, but for which they always retain a Sort of Affection, as for the Religion of their Country. *Schah-Abas II.* Grandfather of the dethroned King, was so prepossessed in Favour of Christianity, that it was disagreeable to him to speak ill of it; several incurr'd his Displeasure for so doing, and the Disgrace of *Athemai-Doulet*, who had govern'd during his Minority, was attributed in great Part to the invincible Aversion which that Prime Minister discover'd upon every Occasion to our Religion. And the *Armenians* of his Time used to tell one another, as Sir *John Chardin* reports in his Coronation of *Solyman*, p. 169. that *Schah-Abas* was more a Christian than a Mahometan. I know not what Credit may be given to a Report

which was current in *Persia* at the Time he died, *viz.* that he was christen'd on his Death-Bed by Father *Raphael* a *Capuchin*, who being his Mathematician and Physician, had free Access to him. I am the more inclin'd to doubt the Truth of this Story, because *Chardin*, who in the Book just now quoted, seems thoroughly inform'd of the Particulars of this Prince's Death, does not say one Word of this secret History: But however, the Suspicion that was commonly entertain'd of him in *Persia*, is a very positive Proof of the shining Marks he gave of his Esteem and Affection for Christianity.

SCHAH-SOLYMAN his Son, and Father to *Schah-Hussein*, had nothing of that strong and declared Affection for the Christians; and sometimes he gave the Missionaries Trouble, though it was more owing to the Instigation of the Eunuchs, who had begun to gain Credit with him, than to his own Accord. What is certain is, that his Religion sat very loose about him, as he gave Reason to judge, by what he said one Day to *Buch-Tamber*, the Ambassador of the Great *Sobieski*, *John III.* King of *Poland*.

Not long after this brave Prince had drove the *Turks* from *Vienna*, it was reported in *Persia*, that he was gone to besiege *Constantinople*. Upon this *Schah-Solyman* demanded of the Ambassador what the King of *Poland* would do, if he took that Capital of the *Ottoman* Empire; and this Minister making Answer, that it was his Master's Design to give no Quarter to any Mahometan; Very well, replied *Solyman*, making the Sign of the Cross, with a very gay Countenance, if the Christians take *Constantinople*, I will turn Christian as well as they; and entertaining the Ambassador all Night long at a Feast, he carous'd with him till he made himself drunk, with toasting a Health to the King of *Poland*.

SCHAH-HUSSEIN, though far more devout in his Religion than *Schah-Solyman* his Father, was not thoroughly convinc'd in his Mind that it was a *Whit*
better

better than the Christian Religion. One Day as he was shewing a Watch made for him by M. *Roussseau* of *Geneva*, his Watch-maker in Chief, to *Giewader-Baszi*, his favourite Eunuch, *I observe*, says he to him, *that the Franks*, (the Name by which the *Europeans* are call'd in *Persia*,) *are better Workmen than ours, I am very much afraid, that as they out-do us in Arts, they also excel us in Points of Religion.* He was so affected when he heard of our Hospitals, and the Care therein taken of the poor Patients, that he was resolv'd to imitate us in that sort of Charity. He caus'd a magnificent Hospital to be built at *Ispahan*, and order'd all, even the most precious Remedies that could be got, to be prepared in the Royal Dispensatory for the Sick. But the Easiness of imposing upon a Prince incapable of perceiving it, and more incapable still of resenting it, if he had perceiv'd it, render'd his good Intentions partly of no Effect; for they who had the Management of the Hospital that he had founded, turn'd the most precious Remedies, which they got out of his Dispensatory, to their own Advantage, by selling to the Rich what the King had intended to be dispens'd gratis to the Poor. He gave the latter another Mark of his good Nature, by building several Ovens, where he had Bread bak'd at his own Charge, to be distributed to the Poor at a moderate Price. But how laudable soever his Intention was in this Respect, he would have assisted the Poor much more effectually, if he had prevented the Monopolies of the *Grandeess*, who in order to bring their Corn to the better Market, privately hinder'd the Carriage of any from the Country to *Ispahan*. *Schah-Solyman* his Father, who was at the like Nonplus in 1667. the Beginning of his Reign, soon found out a Remedy, which was more profitable to his Subjects, and not so burthensome to himself. To redress this Disorder, he was at no more Trouble than to chuse *Ali-Kouli-Kan*, one of the chief Lords of his Court, a Man of a good Headpiece and Resolution, into whose Hands he committed the whole Manage-

ment of this Affair. *Ali-Kouli-Kan* being convinc'd, that a Famine in a great City does not proceed so much from the Scarcity of Corn, as from the Dishonesty and Avarice of those who conceal it, or stop up the Canals by which it usually comes, gave proper Orders, and caus'd them to be executed with such Resolution, that the very next Day after the King had nominated him, he reduc'd the Bread to a moderate Price, and entirely restor'd the Tranquillity of *Ispahan*, which was just ready to revolt. This may be seen more at large in Sir *John Chardin's* Book of the Coronation of *Solyman*, p. 261. where we find, that what this Lord did at that Juncture, is worthy of the Imitation of the politest Towns in *Europe* on the like Occasion; and that nothing contributed so much to prevent a Famine, as an illustrious Instance (mention'd in that Book, p. 262.) of his Disinterestedness, and of the Severity with which he began the Exercise of his Employment.

W H E N *Schah-Solyman* made Choice of this Nobleman to provide against the publick Necessities, he was but twenty Years of Age; and being but just come out of the Haram, where he had been always confin'd to his Coronation, he must be very raw, and unexperienced in the Arts of Government. But however, he was wise enough to chuse a Minister of sufficient Abilities to supply his own Deficiency, and by that Means he put a Stop to the Disorder, in the Manner that became a King; whereas *Schah-Hussein* his Son and Successor, who was of a more advanc'd Age, and consequently had had more Experience, when he was under the same Difficulty, provided no other Remedy than what might be expected from a generous, rich, private Man, without Authority and Character; so that as much a King as he was, he did little more, during a general Famine, than what was done all the Year long by his Grandmother, a very charitable Princess, who limited the Expences of her House-keeping, and appropriated her great Revenues to the

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Comfort and Nourishment of Multitudes of Poor, as well Christians as of the other Religion, and who for her immense Charities would have deserv'd to be call'd *St. Helena* among the *Persians*, if her Alms had been animated by the Spirit of the true Faith.

FROM all that I have hitherto related of *Schah-Husseïn*, 'tis easy to infer, that as he was endow'd with some of the Qualities and Virtues which adorn a private Man, he had none of those which are necessary for a Monarch. He was good natur'd and human; but his good Nature was of that Stamp which bears with every thing, and punishes nothing, and in which the Wicked, being assur'd by it of Impunity, find their Account more than honest Men, whom it deprives of all Hopes of Justice. He hurt no particular Person, and by that Means injur'd all Mankind. The only Instance in which he discover'd the Marks of Greatness was, his Passion for Building, and his Inclination to Magnificence, in which he took a Pride, though his Application to it did not seem to be so much that of a King who makes it his sole Delight, as that of a Man who makes it his important and his only Business. He would have nothing wanting for his Buildings, whatever was wanting in his Armies; and like some People, who are always more forward to give Alms than to pay their Debts, he built Monastries and Hospitals, while his Troops perish'd with Hunger, and dispers'd, or suffer'd themselves to be cut in Pieces on the Frontiers, for Want of Pay and Ammunition, being better pleased to have erected fine Palaces in *Ispahan* and the Neighbourhood, than he was mov'd or afflicted to see whole Provinces taken away from him on all Sides.

ALL this might pass for the Declamation of an Historian, if this Prince himself, in the most important Conjunction of his Reign, had not explain'd himself in a Manner that proves it infinitely beyond what I have done, and which plainly shews how little Care he thought himself oblig'd to take of any thing but his Buildings, and the Management of his Houses,

and to what a Degree he forgot he was a King. For when at the Approach of the Rebel's Army, which was advancing by great Marches towards *Ispahan*, his Ministers and the Grandees of his Court endeavour'd to rouse him by the Proximity of his Danger, and admonishing him, that it was a very serious Affair, not to be jested with; 'Tis your Business, says he, to look to that, you have Armies provided; as for my Part, if they leave me but my House at *Farabath*, I am content. These were the Sentiments of this poor King, who was punished in the very Thing for which he seem'd to have any Fondness; for his House at *Farabath*, which he had built and adorn'd with such Profusion and Magnificence, was not only the first that was plunder'd, but serv'd also as a Camp to the Rebels, who would never have ventur'd to undertake the Siege of *Ispahan*, if they had not found a Place for the most safe and commodious Camp they could have desir'd within the large Circumference of that stately House which was encompassed with high and strong Walls, and flank'd with Towers at convenient Distances.

HOWEVER, notwithstanding the King's Indolence, notwithstanding the Incapacity and Tyranny of the Eunuchs that govern'd him, notwithstanding the bad State of all the Provinces, and the general Dissatisfaction of the whole Kingdom, 'tis very probable, that *Schah-Hussein* would have died in Peace upon his Throne, as well as many other Kings of his Character, if, unhappily for him, a private Man of a bold and enterprizing Genius had not been forc'd against his Will to come to Court from the remotest Corner of his Frontiers, and above four hundred and fifty Leagues from *Ispahan*, who observing very nicely how every thing was manag'd at Court, and how weak and confus'd were those Springs of that Royal Power, the Majesty of which had dazzled his Eyes at such a Distance, imagined that it was not in a Condition to reduce any one to his Duty, that should have the Courage to shake off the Yoke. Upon this he form'd

form'd his Plan, and after having executed it by freeing his Country from the Tyranny of the *Persians*, against whom he always made Head as long as he liv'd, and whom he routed as often as they came to attack him, he left a Son, who being bolder than himself, presumed to undertake to dethrone his Sovereign, and accordingly carried his Point, to the great Astonishment both of *Asia* and *Europe*. This I shall give an Account of after I have in a few Words treated of the Origin and Character of the Nation to whom this great Event is owing.

THE Nation of the *AGHVANS*, hitherto unknown in *Europe*, and scarce known in *Asia*, where it lies in a Corner, has render'd it self so famous by the Conquest it has lately made of *Persia*, one of the greatest Kingdoms in the World, that there's no body living, but will be very glad to have some Account of a People, who have begun to shew themselves to the World by so signal a Blow.

THE *Aghvans*, who were originally of the Province of *Szyrvan*, which was antiently call'd *Great Albania*, and which is situate between the *Caspian Sea* and Mount *Caucasus*, were formerly subdued by *Tamerlane*, who could reduce them till after many Battles, wherein he cut a great Part of them to Pieces. But as this unmanageable People, not used to bear the Yoke, were continually revolting, and took Arms again upon the first Occasion that offer'd, he thought he could not make sure of them, but by transplanting them to another Soil, being persuaded, that when they were once out of the Sight of their own Country, they would at the same time lose that Love of Liberty and Independence which had engag'd them in so many Rebellions, and which had given him so much Trouble and Fatigue; and in order to keep them under the stricter Subjection, he plac'd them between *Persia* and the *Indies*, upon the Confines of each of those two Empires, which he had equally reduc'd to his Obedience. 'Tis said, that they were antiently Christians,

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of the *Armenian* Sect, but that they turn'd Mahometans for Want of the Assistance and Instructions of their Priests and Doctors, whom *Tamerlane* took away from them, that they might sooner embrace that Religion. As to their Name, that alone seems to justify what is said of their Origin, with respect to *Albania*; for as in the *Armenian* Tongue our Letter *L* is chang'd into *G H*, and our *B* into *V* Consonant, so of the Word *Albans* is formed *Aghvans*.

THE capital City of the Country to which *Tamerlane* transplanted them, when he took them from *Albania*, is call'd *Candahar*, a Town which borders on *Persia* to the East, as it does on the Dominions of the Mogul to the West. It had Princes of its own for a Time, who subsisted on the mutual Jealousy of the two Powers, between which it was situate. But at last *Schah-Abas the Great*, who made as many Conquests by his Policy as his Arms, found a fair Opportunity to engage the Prince, who was Master of it in his Time, to put himself under his Protection; which he did accordingly, on Condition, that a Prince of his Race should always command in *Candahar*, as Vassal and Tributary to the King of *Persia*. This *Tavernier* also mentions in his Voyages, *Lib. v. Cap. 23*.

SCHAH-ABAS, who, according to the true Maxim of all Politicians, was a punctual Observer of his Word, with regard to the Treaties that he had made, even with his Vassals, not only secur'd the Possession of *Candahar* to the Prince who submitted, but also continued the Government of it to his Son *Ali-merdan-Kan* after the Death of his Father. *Schah-Sefi*, Grandson to *Schah-Abas*, succeeding his Grandfather, the Court of *Persia* chang'd their Maxims. As *Alimerdan-Kan* was possessed of great Wealth, which he had for most Part by Inheritance from his Ancestors; and as he cut the Figure of a potent Sovereign in his Government, rather than that of a Vassal, always eating out of Gold Plate, and keeping a House almost as magnificent

nificent as the King's; the Ministers, who govern'd during *Schah-Sefi's* Non-age, and who by inspiring him with violent Suspicions of several of the greatest Noblemen, had persuaded him to put some of the most considerable of them to Death, did not fail to raise the same Jealousy in his Breast against the Prince of *Candahar*, whose Wealth, of which they hoped to be Sharers, tempted them more than the Possessions of the others, whom they had caused to be put to Death. The Difficulty was to get him to Court; for the Misfortune of those who, after being drawn thither in that Manner, left their Heads there, made him very loth to go; and as he saw that, without Regard to his Remonstrances, Couriers were sent to him one upon the Neck of another, with pressing Orders to repair to *Isfahan*, he did not doubt but his Life was aim'd at, and in order to provide himself an Asylum against the Ministers of the Court of *Persia*, he surrender'd *Candahar* to the great Mogul. But he would receive nothing from that Prince, and contented himself with the Honour which he did him to give him the first Post of the Kingdom, which he kept Possession of to his Death. When he retired to the Mogul's Court, he carried such a Mass of Treasure with him, that without taking any thing from that Prince, he liv'd at his Court with greater Splendor than any body. He caused a very fine House to be built at *Jehanabad*, with a very fine Garden by the Water-side, which, according to the Report of *Tavernier*, who knew the *Indies* well enough to be depended upon, is the most stately Edifice in the Mogul's Dominions. That Prince was surprized how *Alimerdan-Kan*, without having any Salary from him, could live with so much Magnificence as he did; but one Day as he went to see him with the Princesses, in that little Pleasure-House just now mention'd, that Nobleman's Lady open'd several Coffers full of Gold before those Princesses, and while they were viewing them said, *That his Majesty need not be surprized if her*
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Husband took nothing from him, because they saw he had enough for him and his Children to live upon.

HE had two Children at the Court of *Persia*, when he deliver'd up *Candabar* to the great Mogul; and perhaps he had not been so much press'd as he was, if it had not been presum'd, that his Regard for his Children, who remain'd as Hostages at *Ispahan*, would hinder him from carrying Matters to an Extremity; but having before his Eyes the Example of *Iman-Kouli-Kan*, another Governor of the Province, yet more powerful than he, who was only brought to Court with his Children to be put to Death there all together, he imagin'd that instead of saving the Lives of his two Sons, by repairing to Court, he should only hasten their Death with his own; and chose to take Refuge with the great Mogul, by delivering up *Candabar* to him, happen what would, whereby he secur'd his own Life, as well as the Lives of his Children; for whereas they would undoubtedly have been put to Death with him, if he had gone to *Ispahan*, the Fear of exasperating the Inhabitants of the Province of *Candabar*, and of rendering them irreconcilable, by putting to Death the two young Lords, who were descended from their Sovereign Princes, oblig'd the Court of *Persia*, which hop'd one Day or other to recover *Candabar*, not only to keep fair with them, but also to treat them with more Distinction than ever; so that they met with as much Favour from the King of *Persia's* Court, as their Father receiv'd at the Court of the Mogul.

THIS Policy of *Schah-Sefi* had its Effect under his Son and Successor *Schah-Abas II*. For when that Prince went in the Beginning of his Reign to besiege *Candabar*, the *Persians* who were in the Army that the Mogul sent to its Relief, and which composed the greatest Part of it, remember'd the kind Treatment which the Court of *Persia* had shewn to the Children of *Alimerdan-Kan*, and did not do every thing that they might have done to hinder *Schah-*
Abas

Abas II. from making himself Master of it, and re-entering it, which he did in 1650. Since that Time it has always remain'd in the Hands of the *Persians*, notwithstanding all the Attempts which were afterwards made by the great Mogul *Cha-Gehan* to recover it. He caus'd it to be besieg'd in vain three several Times by two of his Sons, Sultan *Dera* and Sultan *Sujat*, whom he sent thither one after another, each at the Head of an Army of 300000 Men; and when for Vexation that he had miscarried, he asked *Alimerdan-Kan* if he did not know a Way to put him again in Possession of *Candahar*, that Nobleman generously replied, *That he knew no other Way but to find out a second Traytor that would betray it as he had done.*

WHEN *Schah-Solyman*, Son to *Schah-Abas II.* succeeded his Father in the Throne, *Aurengzeb* then Emperor of *Mogul*, who had carried all his Points, and was uneasy to let *Candahar* remain longer in the Power of his Enemies, thought that the Disorder in the Affairs of the Court of *Persia*, and the Weakness of the Government, under a young unexperienced King, gave him a fair Opportunity to undertake the Conquest of that Place with Success. He was strongly tempted to it, and would have certainly gone thither, if he had not been diverted by the wise Counsels of the Princess his Sister, who represented to him, that it would expose the Glory he had acquir'd till then; that the taking of *Candahar* was not an easy Matter; that the Armies which *Cha-Gehan* their Father had sent thither had miscarried; that as his own only consisted in a great Measure of *Persians*, who serv'd him not without Reluctance, and gave him but lazy Assistance in that Expedition, he ought to expect the same Fate; that if he did not come off with Honour, it would be an indelible Stain to his Reputation; that, in short, he had not a great deal to gain if he succeeded, but that if he miscarried, his Loss would be infinite. *Aurengzeb* complied with these

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Arguments; and though whenever he sent Ambassadors afterwards to the Court of *Persia*, the first Article of their Instruction was always to demand the Restitution of *Candahar*, it was only look'd upon as a Matter of Form, and did not hinder the two Kings from living amicably, when they had nothing to skuffle for elsewhere.

THUS the City of *Candahar* remain'd to *Persia*. It was a Place of the more Importance to this Kingdom, because it cover'd the Frontiers towards the *Indies*; and there was none so strong in all *Persia*, it having been fortified by *European* Engineers, whom *Gha-Gehan* the great Mogul employed there, while he was Master of it. As 'tis the great Thorow-Fare of the Caravans that go from *Persia* to the *Indies*, or that return thither from thence, it has enrich'd itself by the Stay which the Caravans make there, and which the Governors had the Art of protracting. One may form a Judgment of its Wealth, by the Tribute it paid to the King, which was twelve Pound Weight of Gold for every Day in the Year, exclusive of many other Duties, Fines, and Forfeitures. It lies in the same Latitude as *Ispahan*, at the Distance of three hundred and fifty *Persian* Leagues, which according to Sir *John Chardin's* Calculation in his Coronation of *Solyman*, make above four hundred and fifty *French* Leagues. As it was from this City that terrible Blow came which has ruin'd a Monarchy so powerful as that of *Persia*, I thought my self oblig'd to omit nothing that might contribute to give a perfect Knowledge of it. *Tavernier* has left us a Draught of it in the Fifth Book of his *Voyages to Persia*.

THIS City therefore is the Capital of the Province where the *Aghvans* were dispers'd, living for the most Part under Tents, like the *Tartars*, being inur'd to Heat and Cold, and all the Inclemencies of the Seasons. With them the Masters, Slaves, Horses, and Cattle lay confusedly under one and the same Tent; and this People is so accustomed to Ordure and Nastiness,

ness, that if a Horse drops down dead by their Side, there they let him lie and rot, without being offended at the Stench, or taking any more Notice of it, than if they had not the Sense of Smelling.

THEY live upon very little, as most of the Eastern Nations do, and put up with what they find, be it good or bad. In the March which they made through the Deserts, that they were oblig'd to pass over to *Ispahan*, they had no other Nourishment than parch'd Wheat, and their very General, the Usurper *Maghmud*, was in this respect on the same Footing as the meanest of his Soldiers. When they had made themselves Masters of *Zulfa*, a Town inhabited by the *Armenians*, a good Quarter of a League from *Ispahan*, they found Soap there, which they took and eat like Sugar, having never seen any before. For they have no Soap nor Lye, but Kennel Dirt or Mud, into which they put their Linnen, and there knead it with their Feet, after which they wash it in cold Water. They eat raw Cabbages, as also Lettices, and other Sallad Herbs.

NAZIR-ULLA, one of the chief Captains of the Army, being at the House of an *Armenian* Merchant at *Zulfa*, the latter presented him with a great Vessel, in which were several Pound Weight of Cloves, desiring him to taste them. *Nazir-Ulla* eat up all without any Ceremony, and though there were enough to have killed a Horse, he was not so much as incommoded by them. They have no other Table but the Ground, nor no Cloth, but their Bread, which they bake in Pans in the Form of Pancakes. They eat their Meat half dress'd, after having laid it over the Flames, or upon Live-Coals. In their greatest Entertainments they have nothing more, and their only Drink is Water, there being scarce any Nation perhaps that is more averse to Wine.

THEIR Way of dressing answers to the Coarseness of their Diet. They wear a Vest, which hangs down to their Toes, and which they tuck up towards
the

the Waste, under which they have a very wide Pair of Drawers of plain Linnen, but their Legs are always bare. The better Sort make use of Shoes or Slippers when they ride on Horseback, as also of a Sort of Boots of very hard Leather, which when they have fitted on, they never pull off, but there let 'em remain till they rot away. 'Tis true, that since they have made themselves Masters of *Persia*, they have begun to wear the *Persian* Habit, at least in Part, that is to say, they have taken the Vest which reaches no lower than the Knees. As to the rest of their Habit, they have not yet made any Alteration in it, which bears such a mix'd Aspect of Magnificence and Beggary, as is somewhat ridiculous. For 'tis a strange Medley, to see under a Vest of Gold Stuff, a wide Pair of Drawers of coarse Linen, and under these a Pair of Stockings that is yet coarser; for that is the Dress of the chief Men of their Nation now at *Ispahan*. With these Vests of Gold or Brocade, they make no Scruple to sit down upon the bare Ground, with their Legs extended, not caring how they bedaggle them with Dirt. The only Thing they are neat in is, a long and broad Piece of coarse Linen, which they wear about their Neck, from whence it hangs down before them like a Slabbering Bib, and which they make use of to defend themselves from the Injuries of the Air, and especially to cover their Arms when it rains. As to their Heads, which are shav'd, except a little Tuft of Hair which they leave at the Side of each Ear, they have nothing to cover them but a sort of Scarf, which they fold several Times round, and one End falls down upon the Shoulder, while the other stands up in Form of a Crest upon the Head, which in the Manner they order it, looks very noble. Their Santons, who are, as it were, their Fryars or Priests, are the only People that do not cut their Hair, nor on the other Hand, do they ever comb it. Their Complexion is not altogether black, but swarthy, very brown, and inclining to black.

black. They are very ill shaped, but of a nervous and robust Constitution; of infinite Skill and Agility on Horseback; so that if they let any thing fall to the Ground, they easily take it up, without alighting from their Horses.

As to their Women, they go bare-fac'd, contrary to the Custom of almost all the East. They wear Ear-Pendants, either of Glass, or such other Matter, which hang down to the Waist. They have their Heads shav'd as well as the Men, but then they wear Horse-Tails round their Heads, which hang down backwards to the Ground. They also make use of Linen Drawers and Buskins, and cover their Bodies with a long Robe, which they tie with a Girdle under their Breasts.

BUT to come now to what is more the Business of this History, in the Character of this Nation, that is to say, in Affairs Military, it must be own'd, that there is not perhaps a People in the World that has so much Inclination to War, and that is better form'd and train'd up to it, their whole Lives being spent almost in one continued Robbery, after the Manner of the *Tartars*, and in making Excursions among their Neighbours for Plunder.

As to their Manner of Fighting in a regular Battle, they fall on thus: They place at first in the Front of their Army, in the Nature of their forlorn Hope, the best Troops they have, which they call *Nasackci* and *Rechluvan*, i. e. *Butchers* and *Wrestlers*. These make the Onset, and fall impetuously upon the Enemy, without observing Order or Rank in their Attack, but pushing forward, in order to open a Way for the rest of the Army, which after this first Shock, finds much less Resistance. But when they are warmly engaged, those *Nasackci* retire in Flank to the Rear of the Army, where they form a Rear Guard, which is only to force those whom they have engaged with the Enemy to fight, and to hinder any Body from falling back. When they perceive one running away, they fall

fall upon him, and force him to return to his Post with such heavy Blows, that if he does not make haste, they kill him. We may judge of their Resolution and Severity, by a Passage that happen'd at the Attack of the Bridge of *Abusatabah*. As a Soldier who was wounded there in his Right Arm only retir'd to have his Wound dress'd, a *Nasackci* came to him, and drove him back to his Ranks, bidding him fight with his Left Hand, if he could not with his Right; and adding by Way of Banter, that if he should also lose his Left Arm, he must bite the Enemy with his Teeth. By this Disposition of the Order of Battle, an Army was inclos'd, as it were, between two Fires, that of the Enemy in Front, and that of the Rear Guard on their Backs, which quite cut off their Retreat, so that they were under an indispensable Necessity, either to conquer or die. These same *Nasackci* are the Persons whose Business it is to carry off the Bodies of those who are kill'd in the Battle; but as to the Bodies of those who are slain in the Flight, no Care is taken of them. Besides the Sword and the Pike, which they manage very well, they have also Pistols, which begin to be very common amongst them. Before they had conquer'd *Persia*, they were half naked, and had no other defensive Weapons but a Buckler or Cuirass of very hard Leather doubled. But now they make use of fine Cuirasses of Iron, which they found among the Spoils of their vanquish'd Enemy. But as brave and resolute as they are in the open Field and in Battles, they are altogether as lazy and cowardly in Sieges, which they know nothing of. So that there are still some small Towns in the Neighbourhood of *Ispahan*, of which they could never yet make themselves Masters; and if they have reduc'd all the rest, it was only by Stratagem, or by cutting off the Canals, or by Famine, and not by Force.

BUT one Thing which contributes as much to the Success of their Undertakings, is the exact Discipline

cipline of their Troops. Perhaps there are no Corps where the Leaders have more Authority, and are better obey'd. Though dispers'd in the several Quarters of *Ispahan*, the Signal is no sooner given, but they repair in an Instant to their Colours; and the Moment they took Possession of *Ispahan*, the Townsmen were so safe and secure, that they might carry their Money in their Hands, or upon their Heads, without fear of any Violence from the Soldiers. In the Tumult which happen'd when the Sultan *Afzraff*, who now reigns, was plac'd upon the Throne in *Maghmud's* stead, and during which the *Aghvans* fought with one another, all the People of *Ispahan* shut their Shops, and kept close within Doors; but, as soon as the Riot was suppressed, the new Sultan sent Orders the very same Day to open the Shops on Payment of a great Fine, which was done immediately without any Prejudice to the poorest Burgher.

THEIR Treatment of those who become their Prisoners by the Laws of War, has nothing in it of the Barbarity we find among most of the other eastern Nations. They look upon the selling of them into Slavery to be a heinous Inhumanity, which they hold in Abhorrence. 'Tis true, indeed, that they keep them at Home as Slaves, and make them do the Drudgery; but, besides that, in the Time even of their Slavery, they treat them with Kindness and Care; they never fail, if they do but please them, to restore them to Liberty at the End of a certain Term; in which Respect they differ as widely from the other *Asiatics*, as they do in Good-Manners. For they can't be reproached with any of those incontinent and dissolute Extravagancies, so frequent among their Neighbours; and if any of them are faulty in this Kind, at least it does not break out, and they conceal it to themselves as a Vice which is neither common nor authorized in their Country.

THIS is the Character of the Nation of the *Aghvans*, who have lately conquered *Persia*, and probably

bly would never have thought of a Design of such Importance, if they had not had a Man among them of a Genius above his Countrymen; and who at such a Distance, disposed Matters so well, that he left his Son in a Condition to finish what he had but just drawn a Sketch of, and what he would never perhaps have ventured to push so far.

THE Person I mean is the famous *Myrr-Weis*, Father to *Myrr-Maghmun*, who dethron'd *Schah-Hussein* King of *Persia*, and Uncle by the Father's Side to *Myrr-Afzraff*, who succeeded *Maghmud*, and reigns at this Day. The Author of the Account inserted in the *Mercury* for November 1726. was misinformed, when he represented him as a Man born of the Dregs of the People. The Figure he made at *Candahar* twenty-five Years ago, and the Title of *Myrr*, or *Lord*, which he then was called by, plainly shews that he was no mean Man; and certainly, if he had been of as base Extraction as the Author of that Relation says, either he would not have been in a Condition to give that Umbrage he did to the Governor of *Candahar*, or the latter would not have carried it so far to him as he did, amidst the Suspicions he had of his Conduct.

THIS Governor of *Candahar*, who was the first Man that took Umbrage at the Conduct of *Myrr-Weis* was *Georgi-Kan*, Prince of *Georgia*. This Prince after having governed *Georgia* some Time in Quality of the Kan, or Governor, nominated by the King of *Persia*, who, according to antient Capitulations made with the great *Schah-Abas*, cannot place any Governor in *Georgia*, but a Prince of this Family, was weary of this Dependance, and took Advantage of the Weakness of the *Persian* Court, to free himself from the Yoak, and to resume all the Rights of Sovereignty which his Ancestors had enjoy'd. He was a great Captain, and the Army that was sent against him, as soon as they were informed of his Revolt, could not

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have

have brought him to Reason, if they had only attacked him with open Force; but the Money that was slipped into the Hands of the chief Lords of the Country, who are distinguished by the Title of *Eristaw*, did what the Forces of *Persia* could never have done. All those *Grandeos* retir'd with their Troops, and the Prince finding himself abandon'd, had no other Course to take but to fly till he could negotiate his Return, and make his Peace. This he did with the more Ease, because he was assisted with the Credit of his Brother, who was at Court, where he officiated as *Divan-Beg*, or Chief-Justiciary, which is one of the first Offices in the Kingdom. By his Means, therefore, he obtain'd a Pardon for his Rebellion, and was re-established in his Government. But as his past Conduct render'd him still suspected at Court, they took hold of an Opportunity which offer'd to remove him from *Georgia*, by giving him an honourable Commission to the other End of the Kingdom. This Occasion was owing to an Embassy from the Great Mogul.

THIS powerful Prince, who for above fifty Years, that he had lost *Candabar*, made no other Use of his Pretensions upon that City, but to trump them up whenever he had a Mind to make the Kings of *Persia* uneasy, sent a great and stately Embassy to *Schah-Husein*, in the Beginning of his Reign, to demand that Place of him. The Court of *Persia*, who took it for a Menace of War, resolved to fortify themselves on the Frontier towards Mogul, and chose the same *Georgi-Kan* to command there, that was lately re-established in *Georgia*. No body was more capable than he to secure the Frontier against the Enterprizes of the Mogul; and besides, his Capacity and Valour, which kept the Court in continual Uneasiness while he commanded in *Georgia*, might be employ'd without any Hazard at the other End of the Kingdom. He received Orders therefore, to set out with his Troops, and to repair to *Candabar*, to command in that Province, and to watch the Motions of the Mogul; and,

in the mean time, *Kostrou-Kan*, his Nephew, was nominated to be his Lieutenant in *Georgia*, and to govern it in his Name.

GEORGI-KAN behav'd in this new Government to the entire Satisfaction of the Court, whose Intentions he pursued there to a Tittle. For as they were not for a War; and as they sent him to *Candabar* not so much to make War, as to deprive the Mogul of all Pretence and Temptation to it, he took care, on the one Hand, to establish so good a Regulation in the Heart of the Province, that the Mogul could not hope to surprize it; and, on the other Hand, to keep the restless *Aghvans* he had under his Command within Bounds, and to hinder them especially from making those Incursions, which they often took the Liberty to make upon the Lands of the Mogul, and which that Prince might have alledged as a sufficient Provocation to send an Army against the Province. Such wise Conduct which hinder'd any rising at Home or Abroad, reconcil'd him totally to the Court. But the Thing that compleatly cancelled all old Suspicions, and also gain'd him a Share of Confidence, was the Intelligence he gave with respect to *Myrr-Weis*; and which could only proceed from a Minister as zealous for the Interest of the State, as he was able and clear-sighted to discover every thing that could affect it.

As the City of *Candabar*, which serves for a Rampart to the whole Province, is the strongest Place in *Persia*, *Georgi-Kan* saw presently that that Province had nothing to fear from the Mogul, as long as all was quiet at home. This made him chiefly turn his Eye to the People that inhabited it, in order to study their Character and Humour. He perceived that they were a restless turbulent People, naturally Warlike, never pleased, but when they were making Excursions upon their Neighbours; and so brave and resolute, that they only wanted a Leader to become as formidable to their Sovereign, when they knew their own
Strength;

Strength, as they were to the Frontiers of their Province. *Myrr-Weis* seemed to him a very fit Person to act this Part. He was in one of the chief Stations at *Candabar*, where he exercised the Office of *Chielentar*, or Intendant for raising the Tribute paid to the King; and he managed this Employment with a Generosity, Disinterestedness, and Kindness, which won him the Hearts of the People. He was exceeding rich, and made a very proper Use of his Wealth to oblige all Mankind, and to procure himself Friends and Creatures. His Liberality was the more dangerous, because it was accompanied with that gracious popular Air, as never fails to make an Impression on the Vulgar, who are generally deceived by it; and by whom he was, therefore, beloved even to Adoration.

THE Prince *Georgi-Kan*, no sooner perceived what he was driving at, but he took Umbrage; and, after having informed the Court of his Suspicions, he thought he could do nothing of more Importance for the Security of the Province, than to remove him from it, by sending him to *Ispahan*. In *Turkey* they would not have used that Ceremony; and a positive Order to send the Head of *Myrr-Weis*, would have made both the Governor and the Court easy, as to him: But in *Persia*, where the Authority, as despotick as it is, is exercised with more Lenity and Moderation, they were obliged to take other Measures. The Governor, therefore, contented himself with sending him to Court, not indeed as a Prisoner, but caused so strict an Eye to be kept over him, that he could not easily escape. At the same time he sent Word to the King, that if he had a Mind to secure that Province, he should take care not to suffer *Myrr-Weis* ever to return to *Candabar*.

THIS Proceeding of *Georgi-Kan* was a Piece of great Policy, as the Event fully proved; and *Schah-Hussein* would have been still upon the Throne, if he had not deviated from the Advice which this wise Go-

vernor gave him; but *Myrr-Weis* by his Insinuations, soon rendered the Governor's Precaution and Counsel of no Effect. As he arrived at Court with the Character of a dangerous and suspicious Person, his first Appearance there was in the Nature of a *Gioz-Tutzack*, or one that is always narrowly watched. But as soon as he had Time to look about him, and to view the Ground, what with his supple and pliant Temper, his flattering and engaging Behaviour, and the Splendor he lived in, which always gives a Man Credit in Courts, he found Means by his Friends to remove the Prejudices which the Governor of *Candahar* had raised against him; and though, partly out of Regard to *Georgi-Kan*, they were not willing to send him Home again, yet he was no longer watched at Court as a suspicious Person, but stood on the same Terms there with the other Courtiers, and even those who were most welcome there.

THE Expence he put himself to there, which the great Riches he was Master of enabled him to support, had put him on a Footing which gave him Access to the greatest Persons at *Ispahan*. There was not a House of any Minister, or Lord of the first Rank, where he was not heartily welcome; so that any other Person in his Place that had only aim'd to be distinguished at Court, would have been highly pleased with his Destiny. But *Myrr-Weis*, who had Views much more exalted, only considered such Regard at Court, as a proper Means to facilitate his Return to his own Country. This he labour'd by Degrees; and in the mean time, that he might be a Gainer by the Force which was put upon him to stay at *Ispahan*, and by that sort of Banishment, which he was kept in at Court, he applied himself to get a thorough Knowledge of it, and studied how to make a profitable Use of his Discoveries.

THE Opposition and Antipathy of the two Factions into which the Court was divided, could not long escape the Penetration of a Man so quick-sighted and
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cunning as he was. He no sooner perceived it, but he resolved to make a third Party, by insinuating himself into the other two; and he concerted his Measures so well, and so artfully covered his Design that he was never suspected by either. When he was in Company with Persons of the same Faction as the Prince *Georgi-Kan*, he thought no Encomiums too great to bestow upon him. *According to him*, “ He was a Prince of
“ the highest Merit, one of the King’s most faithful
“ Servants; and one of the most zealous Men for the
“ publick Tranquillity. Never did any Governor discover so much Fore-sight, Attention, or Integrity.
“ In short, he was a Man born for the publick Good;
“ and the very Terror of his Name only, with the
“ Character he had for his Capacity and Valour, had
“ kept the Great Mogul in Respect, and hindered him
“ from making a Disturbance.” He said all this with an Air so natural and so perswasive, that the Divan *Beg*, *Georgi-Kan*’s Brother, thought it all sincere, and could not help chiding his Brother in his Letters, for having ill-treated, and raised a Suspicion of the Man that was the most devoted to him of all the World; that spoke of him in the handsomest Terms; and that was no less than his Panegyrist at Court.

BUT when he happened to be with those of the contrary Faction, with whom he thought he might talk very freely concerning this Prince, his Language was the very reverse. “ Then he was a Man canker’d
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“ the Government. He had only removed him from
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“ over his Shoulders, and saw too far into his Designs,
“ and because he was too zealous a Servant, to his
“ King, for the King’s Interests, and too well inclined
“ to maintain his Countrymen in their Obedience.
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“ dom be put to the Expence of maintaining an Ar-
 “ my, which has the Stain of a late Rebellion fresh
 “ upon it, and which perhaps is battenning at *Canda-*
 “ *bar*, only to begin a new one? If there was an ab-
 “ solute Necessity for keeping up an Army in that
 “ Province, it were much better that they should be
 “ Troops and Generals of the *Persian* Nation, who
 “ might be Gainers by the Abundance of a Country
 “ so likely to enrich them.” And upon this Topick
 he warmly press’d them, one after another, to have an
 Eye to this Government, by telling them how easily
 they might make their Fortunes there, without any
 Noise, and offering them his hearty Services to that
 End. He back’d these Discourses, which he took
 care to time well, with Presents of that kind, which
 are welcome from a fine Gentleman, and which one
 would think might be given and received without any
 Consequence, though generally they touch to the
 Quick. Those were fine *India* Calicoes, which are
 very much coveted in *Persia*, and especially certain
 Woollen Stuffs, which are more prized there than
 Cloth of Gold. Having so much Wealth at his Com-
 mand, he spared no Cost to get what was the nicest,
 most exquisite, and best wrought of the Kind, and
 bestow’d them so happily among the chief Men of the
 two Factions at Court, that he acquired an equal In-
 terest with both. It was by these artful Methods, this
 subtle Management that he absolutely demolished all
 Prejudices that had been raised against him; and that
 from a Man who was suspected, and, as it were, a Pri-
 soner of State when he came to Court, he came to be
 distinguished there as a Confident, and to have a great
 Share in the King’s Favour, to whom he was as ac-
 ceptable as the most favoured of his Courtiers.

As soon as *Myrr-Weis* found himself in this Situa-
 tion at the Court of *Ispahan*, he thought that nothing
 could contribute more to confirm the good Opinion
 there entertain’d of him, than some popular Act of
 Goodness, which might give him an Air of Devo-
 tion,

tion, and make him esteem'd as a Man zealous for his Religion and Salvation. A Pilgrimage to *Mecca* was very proper to produce that Effect, and to conceal still greater Designs, which we shall lay open hereafter.

THIS Pilgrimage is an Article which is as much recommended as any in *Mahomet's* Law. 'Tis even a Command obliging upon such as have Abilities to do it, and are not hinder'd from it by such great Offices, and considerable Employments, as do not admit of their Absence. As *Mahomet* is equally reputed both among the *Persians* and the *Turks* for the true Messiah, and as their Difference is only about the Successor of this false Prophet, the Precept enjoining the Pilgrimage to *Mecca* concerns them all alike: But this Devotion is not near so much in Vogue in *Persia*, as it is in *Turkey*, and the rest of the Mahometan World; especially since the Reign of *Schah-Abas* the Great, who left no Methods untried to run it down, and to divert his Subjects from it.

THIS Prince, whose Attention nothing that could in the least affect his Dominions escaped, perceived that Pilgrimages of this Nature to *Mecca* and *Medina*, always carried a great Quantity of Gold out of his Kingdom, because the Pilgrims took no Coin with them but Gold Ducats, as well to pay the Tributes demanded by the *Turks* and *Arabs* through whose Lands they were obliged to pass, as to defray the other Expences of the Journey. In order to remedy this Mischiefe, he design'd not to cut off those Pilgrimages, which would only have served to frighten the Populace, who are always fondly superstitious, but to change the Time of making them, and to turn the Devotion of his People towards another Object, which did not oblige them to quit his Dominions. For this End he made Choice of a Place called *Meszat*, which *Tavernier* calls *Meched*, and *Chardin*, *Metched*, in the Province of *Corassan*, and built there in Honour of one of their *Imans*, which they have in great Veneration, a stately Mosque, which was called *Iman-Reza*, after
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the Name of that *Iman*. As he knew the Devotion of the People is easily led away by external Decoration, and the Magnificence of Ornaments, he spared no Expence in this Respect, even so far as to cover the Dome with Plates of Gold. At the same time he annexed great Revenues to it, for the Maintenance of the Priests that were to officiate there: And because nothing makes so much Impression upon the Subjects, as the Example of the Prince, he was resolved himself to make this Pilgrimage in Person, attended by his whole Court, and with all the Pomp that used to accompany Royal Majesty. The Courtiers being sensible that they could not make their Court to him better than by crying up this new Altar, which he had lately set up in Opposition to that of *Mecca*, did not fail, when they came back, to make a great Noise of the pretended Miracles of *Iman-Reza*, which, though discredited by People of Sense, were so strongly believed by the Vulgar, who took them for real, that they addressed all their Prayers this Way, and by Degrees left off their Pilgrimages to *Mecca*. The Successors of *Schah-Abas* followed the same Plan to wean their Subjects more and more from a Devotion which was looked upon as prejudicial to the Interests of the State; so that it was rather tolerated there than suffered; and though *Schah-Husseïn* was somewhat relax in this Point, as he had been in other Maxims of his Predecessors, yet the Pilgrimage to *Mecca* was still in great Disesteem, and few People in *Persia* were tempted to make it.

BUT this Consideration could not effect *Myrr-Weis*, who though a Mahometan as well as the *Persians*, was of a different Sect, the same with the *Turks*. The two Sects, into which all the Mahometans are divided, are distinguish'd by the Names of *Sunni* and *Rafi*. The former comprehends the *Turks*, and the other Followers of *Omar*; and the latter includes the *Persians*, and the other Followers of *Ali*. The *Agbrians*, by submitting to the Dominion of the Kings of *Persia*, had
made

made it an Article in their Capitulation, that they should not be molested for their Religion, on Account of the Sect to which they adher'd; and never was any Trouble given them on that Head; consequently they were not surpriz'd at Court, that *Myrr-Weis*, being an honest *Sunni*, had the Devotion to go to *Mecca*, for which Pilgrimage those of that Sect have the highest Veneration. On the contrary, they were very much edified, to see that a Man who liv'd so agreeably as he did at *Ispahan*, had Power to withstand all the Charms that might have kept him there, to follow the Dictates of his Devotion and Zeal. Besides, he obtain'd Leave to make this Pilgrimage with the less Difficulty, because instead of carrying him back to *Candabar*, it remov'd him four or five hundred Leagues farther from it; for *Ispahan* lies almost in the Centre between *Candabar* and *Mecca*, having the former on the East, and the other on the West, inclining to the South.

THUS did *Myrr-Weis* set out for *Mecca*; which devout Pilgrimage deserves the more Notice upon this Account, because it was the Foundation of all his future Undertakings. It serves as the *Epocha* of the first Blow that he struck at the *Persian* Monarchy, and must be look'd upon as the Source of all those Incidents, which afterwards prov'd its Ruin, as I shall now proceed to shew.

THOUGH the Intrigues and the Management of *Myrr-Weis* while he was at *Candabar*, were justly suspected by the Government, who had Reason to take Umbrage at it, yet there was nothing criminal in his Conduct. There's all the Reason in the World to think, that he was not well affected to the State at that time; but if he had any Views of Rebellion, they could only be founded on wild Projects, which he saw himself there was no Likelihood of bringing to pass; and 'tis very probable that he would have stopp'd there, if the Journey which he was forc'd to make to Court had not divested him of a Prejudice which had, till then, prov'd a Bar to all his Designs.

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HE had all along depended so much on his Credit, on the Affection of the People, on his Power, on his Riches, and the great Number of his Friends and Adherents, that he thought himself in a Condition to raise a Rebellion in the Province, and to be Master of the capital City of it when he pleased. But when he bethought himself of the over-grown Power of the King of *Persia*, such as he fancied it to be, his immense Treasures, his Forces in all Parts, the Armies which he kept in Pay on his Frontiers, and which upon the first Order would pour in upon him, and crush him to Pieces, his Heart fail'd him. He look'd upon his Projects as wild Chimeras; and it appear'd visible to him, that the Consequence of such an Attempt would only be the Ruin of himself first of all, and that then it would give a lawful Pretext to aggravate the Yoke of his Countrymen, who would blame him for it, and for ever abhor him.

HE was full of these Ideas and Prepossessions when he came to Court; but he had not been there many Months, e'er he was of another Mind. This Power which he apprehended to be so formidable when he viewed it at a great Distance, was much lessened when he saw it closely. He had indeed a great Number of Troops on Foot, but for most part ill pay'd, ill kept, disgusted with their Service, too weak and dispirited to do any thing of Moment, and cramp'd by the Division of the Ministers, one Part of whom minded nothing but to thwart the Projects of the other. Besides all this, he saw a King of a mean Spirit without Knowledge or Experience, who knew not the State of his Kingdom so much as the lowest of his Subjects, a meer Slave to the Eunuchs, who commanded in his Name, and were more Kings than himself. *Myrr-Weis*, who was a Man of Reflection and good Judgment, when he saw the Confusion of Affairs, and the Weakness of the Government, could not express his Surprize, to see that the State subsisted; and he perceiv'd that it was more owing to its Reputation than to

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its Strength ; and that considering the low Condition, to which the Kingdom was reduc'd, there was no Province so small, but might shake off the Yoke with Impunity, and set it self free if it had but the Courage to attempt it.

W H A T he had all along thought impracticable, and as it were chimerical, in the Schemes which he had sometimes contriv'd for a Rebellion, appear'd then to him not only possible, but even easy and infallible. From that Moment he form'd and fix'd his Project ; and the first thing he did in Consequence was the Journey to *Mecca*.

W H A T E V E R was his Confidence in the Credit that he had acquir'd with his Countrymen, he thought that in an Enterprize of such Importance as that which he had in his Head, there was an absolute Necessity of binding them to his Interest, by something yet stronger than the Affection which they bore to him, and which might be of such a Nature, as indispensably to engage the whole Nation ; and as there is no Tie more powerful or efficacious than that of Conscience, he proposed to turn his Rebellion into a War of Religion, and to get the Sanction of a Law for it, to which even the most moderate of the Nation could not but pay a Deference, and a blind Submission.

T H A T was the Motive of his Pilgrimage to *Mecca*, where, after he had perform'd the Devoirs of his Religion, he sent to desire the chief Doctors, who resided both at *Mecca* and *Medina*, that they would please to grant him a particular and secret Conference, in order to consult them, and take their Opinion on some Scruples of Conscience, which had for a long Time disturb'd him. The Conference being granted, *Myrr-Weis* open'd it with magnificent Presents of all the richest and finest Things that he could pick up in *Persia*, and then told them, that though his Conscience had for a long Time press'd him to come to *Mahomet's* Tomb, yet he must confess to them, that one of the chief Motives which had at last determin'd him to undertake

undertake that pious tedious Pilgrimage, was the Desire he had of consulting the most learned Doctors of the Law, and the greatest Lights of the Mahometan Religion; that the Situation he was in of being reduc'd with his whole Nation under the Obedience of a heretick Prince, had started Doubts and Perplexities in his Mind, which nothing less than an Authority so irrefragable as theirs could satisfy; that he knew that their Decisions were admitted as Oracles in all the Courts of the East; that he would receive them for him and his Countrymen with the same Reverence, and that he would adhere to what they should pronounce, as much as if *Mahomet* himself had decided it.

AFTER this short Preamble, he propos'd his Doubts to them by Way of Cases of Conscience. FIRST, he desired to know, " Whether in the Oppression which the *Persians* were kept under, they could in Conscience lay hold of any favourable Opportunity to recover their antient Liberty by Force of Arms, and free themselves from a Yoke, by which they were cramp'd in the Exercise of their Religion, the Laws of which were violated every Day?

" SECONDLY, he desired to know if they were oblig'd to keep the Oath of Allegiance, which the chief Men of each Family had been forc'd, with the Knife at their Throats, to swear to Hereticks of the Mussulman Law, such as the *Persians*, especially considering the Non-observance of the Conventions stipulated, and Privileges granted under the Seal of the Oath taken by the King, and not minded by the *Persians*, who not content with all the Affronts which they have loaded them with, have just now, as the last Insult they can subject them to, put them under the Slavery of *Ghiabours*, (a Term that signifies Infidel, and which the Mussulmen insult the Christians with,) who take away their Wives and Daughters, carry their Sons into Slavery to *Georgia*, and sell them afterwards like Cattle;

" that

“ that moreover they prophane and deride what was
 “ most sacred in their Religion, and that many of
 “ them, forc’d by the *Georgians*, had had the Misfor-
 “ tune to abjure Mahometism, or else being seduc’d
 “ and drawn away by the *Persians*, embrac’d their
 “ Sect, both to the great Prejudice of the Mahome-
 “ tan Religion.”

THESE two Cases of Conscience were much the same in Effect; for admitting that it had been decided as to the first, that they might in Conscience rebel against their King, ’tis evident, that from that Time they were not bound to their Oath of Allegiance: But probably *Myrr-Weis* was very glad to put Things in the strongest Light he could, and to have an Occasion by Favour of the second Case, to give a longer Detail of those Grievances of his Countrymen that were most likely to move the Compassion of the Doctors whom he consulted.

BUT this Precaution was not very necessary; and it may be said, that considering the Aversion, and even a sort of Abhorrence, which the *Turks*, and especially the Men of the Law, have to the *Persians*, from a Principle of Conscience and Religion, they are always ready enough to do them an Injury; for they hate them to such a Degree, that they commonly say, ’tis not so great a Sin in the Article of wilful Murder, to kill forty *Persians*, or Men of *Rafi’s* Sect, as to kill one Christian; and that in lawful War, ’tis more meritorious to kill one of those than forty Christians. Besides this Core of Aversion, which is common to all the *Turks* in general, with respect to the *Persians*, whom they look upon as the most dangerous Hereticks, and the most corrupt of their Religion, the Doctors of *Mecca* and *Medina* have other particular Motives of Resentment and Enmity against them, as well on Account of what *Schah-Abas* the Great did formerly, by establishing the Pilgrimage of *Meszat*, in order to divert his Subjects from that of *Mecca*, as

in Pursuance of the authentick Excommunication, which those same Doctors formerly fulminated against the *Persians*, upon the Instance of *Amurath*, against whom *Schah-Abas* made War with Advantage. During the Confusion which the *Turk* was in, he imagin'd that nothing would be more proper to inspire his Troops with fresh Courage, and to animate them against the *Persians* their Enemies, than to publish against them in the most flagrant Manner, a sort of Crusado, accompanied with all manner of Excommunications and Curses: And as the *Imans*, or Priests and Doctors of the Law, who reside at *Medina* and *Mecca*, are held in singular Veneration, not only in *Turky*, but also throughout the East, he desired them to publish the same in their Name. 'Tis too long to be inserted here at large; 'tis sufficient to take Notice, that among the Grievances which are there particulariz'd, they reproach the *Persians* for not believing, that at the *Abdest* or Washing, it is lawful to wash the Foot all naked, but only to sprinkle the Water lightly over it; for never shaving their Mustaches, but only the Beard of the Chin, which is the comeliest Ornament of a Man, as also for cutting it how they please; for using in their Shoes and Stockings the holy green Colour, consecrated to the Banner of *Mahomet*, and for wearing the red Turban. And finally, after having declar'd that they are branded as Hereticks in seventy Places of the Alcoran, that they are become abominable, that they are the Sink of all Manner of Uncleanneſs and Sins, that they are the most insolent and most irreconcilable Enemies that the *Turks* have in the World, the *Mufti* concludes in these Words: (See the History of the Present State of the *Ottoman* Empire in 1670. *Lib. II. cap. x.*) "By Virtue therefore of the Authority which I have receiv'd from *Mahomet* himself, and by Reason of your Wickedness and Unbelief, I publicly pronounce, that 'tis lawful for any Believer, of what Nation soever, to destroy and root

" you

“ you out. If he that killeth a Rebel Christian, doth
 “ a Thing agreeable to God, he that killeth a *Persian*
 “ doth one that deserves a Reward seventy times greater. I hope also from the divine Majesty, that in
 “ the Day of Judgment he will make you serve instead of Asses to the *Jews*; that that miserable Nation which is the Contempt of the World, may
 “ mount and trot with you to Hell.”

THOUGH *Schah-Abas*, who was personally branded in this Excommunication, was not of a Character to be very uneasy at any Anathema from *Mecca*; yet he was not willing to be in Debt to the *Turks* on that Score; and in order to pay them Curse for Curse, he caused them to be solemnly excommunicated in his Turn by his *Szicheliglam*, i. e. the High-Priest of *Persia*, and by Way of Reprisal for the Curse upon the *Persians*, that they might serve as Asses to carry the *Jews* to Hell, one yet more insulting was vented against the *Turks*, wishing that the Excrements of the *Armenians* might fall upon the Head of *Omar*, whom the *Turks* acknowledge *Mahomet*'s true Successor, and the greatest Prophet of their Law, next to him. This Imprecation is continued, even to this Day in *Persia*; and as often as the *Moullas* call the People from the Top of the Mosques to come to Prayers, they finish their Invitation with that pious Ejaculation.

FROM all this 'tis natural to infer, that *Myrr-Weis* play'd a sure Game when he address'd himself to the *Imans* of *Mecca*; and that it was in a proper Sense, making the *Persians* own Friends their Prosecutors. He had also all the Satisfaction on the Part of those Doctors that he expected; for they not only solv'd all his Doubts, according to his Desire, but they also gave him the Decision, or the *Fetfa**, in Writing,
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* This is the Name they give in Turkey to the Solution which the *Mufti* gives when he is consulted upon any Affair of State or private Case. When
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sign'd by the Doctors, seal'd with the Seal of *Mecca*, and vested in a Word with all the Forms that could render it most authentick.

IT was with this important Piece that *Myrr-Wei* return'd to *Ispahan*, more pleas'd with the Fruit of his Journey, than ever was any Pilgrim of *Mecca*: His Return gave equal Pleasure to the two opposite Factions of the Court, each of which number'd him in their Party; and he reconciled them to himself still more, by curious Presents of various Kinds, which he brought from his Pilgrimage, and especially of the Banner of *Mecca*, which is the most costly, and the most coveted over all the East.

NEVERTHELESS, though after he was furnish'd with the Decision at *Mecca*, he delay'd a great while to put himself in a Situation to make Use of it for the Execution of his Projects, yet he took great Care of discovering the least Sign of Impatience to be sent back to *Candabar*. On the contrary, he never shew'd more Indifference in that Respect, than when he was most eager to return, and had most Reason to wish himself there. He even affected to make believe, that he had taken a Fancy to *Ispahan*, and he often talk'd of sending for his Family thither.

THUS he amused the Court by an external Air of Indifference, till some fair Opportunity should offer for his Departure. He hop'd indeed to lay hold of the first that should present it self, but he did not foresee that one was like to offer so soon, when upon Occasion of the most trifling Incident to all Appearance, he found Means to force the King and his Ministers to send him back to *Candabar*, as a Man of Confidence at Court, and upon whose Zeal and Abilities they rely'd most

the Question is well stated, and committed to Paper in few Words, he writes at the Bottom Yes, or No, or after another very short Manner; and this Opinion is call'd Fetfa: After which he adds, God knows best,

most for the Maintenance of their Authority throughout the whole Frontier.

A N Ambassador arriv'd at that Time at *Schamachi**, who was going to the Court of *Persia* from the Czar of *Muscovy*. The Gentleman's Name was *Israel Orit*, an *Armenian* Adventurer, born at *Kapanlu* in *Persia*, who after having travell'd through *France*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, selling Coffee in the Armies, list'd himself a Soldier at length in the Troops of the Emperor *Leopold*, and attain'd to the Rank of a subordinate Officer. Being a Man of Intrigue, he found Access to the Ministers of the Court of *Vienna*; and because he very well understood the chief Languages spoke in the East, he was sent to *Constantinople* to sound the Disposition of the *Turks*, with respect to the Peace they had a Mind to propose to them, and which was afterwards concluded by the Treaty of *Carlowitz*. Then he pass'd into the Czar's Service, who made him a Colonel of his Troops, and who not being included in the Treaty of *Carlowitz*, employ'd him in his Turn at *Constantinople*, to negotiate an Accommodation with the *Turk*, being unwilling to bring him upon his Back, while he made War with the King of *Sweden*, whom he intended to attack forthwith.

THIS *Armenian* having conducted the Negotiation to the Czar's Satisfaction, he desir'd, that as a Reward for his Services, he would gratify him with the Embassy to *Persia*, as the most proper Means he could think of to enrich himself in a little Time, because as the Ambassadors pay no Customs in *Persia*, he propos'd to carry with him, which he did, a great Quantity of valuable Merchandize, by which there was vast Gain to be made, considering

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* Tavernier and Chardin call it *Chamaky*, but in the spelling of this Word I have followed the Author of my *Memoirs*. The Government of *Szamachi* takes in a Part of Southern Media, and Hyrcania.

the Exemption from the ordinary Duties. As soon as he obtain'd a Grant for it from the Czar, he posted to *Vienna*, where in Memory of his past Services, he also obtain'd Letters from the Emperor for the King of *Persia*. From thence he went to the Court of *Rome*, where giving himself out for a Man of the first Rank, that had a World of Credit with the Schismatick *Armenians*, whom he would engage to bring into the Pale of the Church, he was so successful as to get a Brief for that Purpose from *Clement XI.* for the said King of *Persia*.

BEING furnish'd with all these Pieces, he arriv'd at *Szamachi* with a very great Retinue, as well of *Armenians*, who were at the Charge of the Embassy, as of *Muscovites*, who being design'd for the Guard of the Ships which the Czar had in a Port of the *Caspian Sea*, not far from *Szamachi*, accompanied him to this City, in order to give the more Lustre to the Embassy. I shall not here enter into the Particulars of this *Armenian's* Conduct, who was more a Merchant than an Ambassador, and shall say nothing more of him than what relates to my Subject. 'Tis hardly credible how much this Embassy, as inconsiderable as it was in the main, alarm'd the Court of *Ispahan*, to which two Things especially contributed. First, his numerous Retinue, which however when he came to *Ispahan*, was reduc'd to two hundred Persons. Secondly, Some Discourse of his in Publick at *Szamachi*, where he said he was descended of the antient Kings of *Armenia*, and gave to understand, that he did not renounce his Rights to that Sovereignty. All this terrified the Court of *Persia*, who did not believe that an *Armenian*, a natural born Subject of the King, supported by a Prince so powerful as the Czar of *Muscovy*, and with a Retinue as numerous as that which, 'tis said, he had at *Szamachi*, was come into *Persia* without some secret Design. As this Ambassador boasted, among other Things, that he would cause all the Missionaries

onaries to be turn'd out of *Persia*, by convincing the Court, that the Recommendations and Letters of the Christian Princes, by Favour of which they had found Protection in *Persia*, were all false and spurious Pieces, (Discourse which he chose to indulge himself in to do a Pleasure to the *Armenians*, who as Schismatics, wish'd the Missionaries no Good;) the *Europeans*, who had the Interest of these at Heart, and especially M. *Michel* a Frenchman, sent to the Court of *Persia* by the late King for the Interests of Commerce, thought he could not perform a greater Service to Religion, than to dissuade the Court from receiving the Ambassador. For this End he made use of the Alarm taken there at this *Armenian's* Discourse, and instead of diminishing increas'd it, by magnifying some Reports that were current about the pretended Predictions which the *Armenians* pleased themselves with, as being contain'd in their Archives; and wherein it was said that the Kingdom of *Armenia* should rise or revive one Day, under the Protection of the *Muscovites*. And, in order to render the Alarm still more pressing, the Ambassador's Anagram was tacked to those Predictions, by shewing that in *Israel Orü* were found the Letters *il sera Roi*, i. e. *He shall be King*.

ALL this took, indeed, but it had an Effect at Court quite contrary to what was proposed; for during the Alarm at the pretended Projects of that Ambassador, it was imagined he would not be so formidable at *Ispahan*, if they could draw him thither, as he might be if they left him in the Country; besides that they could not send back the Ambassador without offending the Czar his Master, whom they were not willing to embroil themselves with, especially since the Superiority which his Victories had gained him over the *Swedes*.

THE Governor of *Szamachi* received Orders therefore to send the Ambassador away to *Ispahan*, where he was received with all the Tokens of Honour and Dis-

stinction. He managed his Affairs there very well, with Respect to his Commerce ; and besides carried it very even both to the *Armenians* and *Europeans* that were at *Ispahan*. He died several Years after at *Astracan*, a staunch Catholick, to the Mortification of the Bishops of his own Country, whom he would not give Ear to ; and he carried the pretended Hopes of the future Re-establishment of the Kingdom with him to his Grave. This I thought fit just to mention here, that the Reader might have no Question to ask, as to the Consequences of an Embassy which did no great Harm to *Persia*, from the Part where it was apprehended, but afterwards was the Cause of irreparable Mischief from another Quarter, by the Use which *Myrr-Weis* made of the Confusion which that Event had caused at Court.

THIS Man, who had more Sense alone than all the Ministers of the Court put together, could not imagine how Persons that were at the Head of Affairs in so great a Kingdom as that of *Persia*, should be alarmed at any thing so chimerical as all that Stuff which was related concerning the *Armenian* Ambassador, and Embassy ; and, perhaps, nothing encouraged him more to put in Execution what he had been long contriving, but the Contempt which he entertained for the *Persian* Court and Ministers. But how chimerical and frivolous soever were the Designs with which they were alarmed, he resolved, since the Court thought them real, to make that the Foundation of the Scheme he had laid to be sent back to his Province : So that instead of opening the Eyes of the Ministers and the Court, to see how they were imposed on, he made it his Endeavour to swell the Objects, by augmenting and corroborating the Delusion as much as possible. No Body seemed more seriously impress'd than he by every thing that was said of the future Re-establishment of the Kingdom of *Armenia*. He created Diffidence and Suspicions upon this Head, among all the Courtiers ; and the Esteem which People had of his Abilities

Abilities and Learning added Weight to their Fears and Jealousies.

BUT when he was in Company with the Lords of the Faction which was opposite to that of the Prince *Georgi-Kan*, Governor of *Candahar*, at the Head of which was the Prime Minister himself, he did not adhere to their general Plan, but entered into politick Views and particular Reflections, which tended to asperse Prince *Georgi-Kan*, as the most dangerous Man in *Persia*, and the most to be mistrusted in the present Conjunction of Affairs. At first he gave them a terrifying Representation of the exorbitant Power of the *Muscovites*, who, since the Defeat of the King of *Sweden**, were in a Condition to give Law to all their Neighbours. “What, says he, if the *Georgians*, a “People naturally restless and uneasy, and always well “affected to the *Muscovites*, who are of the same Religion and Rites as themselves, should take it in “their Heads to improve the Opportunity, and depend upon their Forces to set themselves at Liberty?” As to this he made a Remark upon the Zeal with which the Czar had always espoused the Interest of the *Georgians* at the Court of *Persia*, to which he had often been troublesome, by his too frequent, and too pressing Sollicitations. “Has he not actually “with him, says he, the Prince *Sanazarli-Kan*, Cousin-German to Prince *Georgi-Kan*, who has taken “Refuge in *Muscovy*, where he incessantly teazes the “Czar to free *Georgia* from Slavery to *Persia*? And he “will

* The Battle of Pultowa, where the King of Sweden was entirely defeated, was fought the 8th of July, 1709. Which Date may serve to fix within a very small Matter, the Epocha of Time that Myrr-Weis was sent back to *Candahar*. As the Memoirs from which I write do not mention the exact Date of these Events, there's a Necessity of seeking for it elsewhere, and we can find none more exact than what is taken from the very Discourse that Myrr-Weis used at that Time, and which is exactly set down in these Memoirs. M. Michel, above-mentioned, who was sent from the late King Lewis XIV. to the Court of *Persia*, was returned to France in 1709. See the Mercury for March 1720. p. 13.

“ will not cease to press him ’till he has brought him
 “ into it.” From thence he directed them to cast
 their Eyes to the Danger that was to be feared from the
Armenians, who being very numerous in *Persia*, and
 being possessed of vast Riches, which they had acquired
 in Trade, would venture both their Lives, and
 Fortunes, as soon as Opportunity presented to shake
 off a Yoke which they bore with Impatience, and to
 recover the antient Freedom, which they formerly enjoy’d
 under the Authority of their Kings. “ What,
 “ *says he*, if at last, while the *Muscovites*, on one
 “ hand, are entring *Georgia*, where they would be received
 “ with open Arms; and while the *Armenians*,
 “ on the other hand, are rising in the Heart of the
 “ Kingdom, the Prince *Georgi-Kan*, on his Part,
 “ should cause the *Aghvans* to rebel, and put himself
 “ at their Head? Or if, after having called in the
 “ Mogul, and delivered *Candahar* to him, he should
 “ fall upon *Persia*, already too much perplexed to face
 “ the *Muscovites* and *Armenians*, what would then become
 “ of the Kingdom, when attacked on all
 “ Sides.

How little Solidity soever there was in all these
 political Visions, which had no other Basis than the
 Chimeras formed in the Brain, as to the pretended Designs
 of the *Armenian* Ambassador from *Muscovy*, they were as well
 received as if there had been nothing better founded and more
 real; and the Effect of them was more speedy and violent than
Myrr-Weis expected. ’Tis true that the Jealousy of the Faction,
 which opposed Prince *Georgi-Kan*, did no Prejudice by giving
 some sort of Sanction to the Suspicion which *Myrr-Weis* had
 cast upon his Conduct.

THE Prime Minister, and his whole Faction took
 Fire upon it, and so warmly alarmed the King concerning
 the imminent Danger which the Province of *Candahar* was in,
 while in the Hands of a Prince justly suspected, and whom they
 did not dare, however, to recal from thence, that they determined
 him to send

send *Myrr-Weis* thither immediately, as the fittest Person to thwart the Practices of the Governor, and to make Head against him, if he should offer to stir. And to the End that the Marks of his Esteem at Court might give him the more Authority in the Country, the King honoured him with the *Calaate*, or Royal Vest, which he received in Presence of the whole Court; and caused new Patents to be dispatched, whereby he re-established him in the Exercise of his Office with a more ample Power than he had held it before.

BEHOLD, therefore, *Myrr-Weis* returning in Triumph to his own Country, with the Favours of the Court heaped on him, and Letters of Recommendation in his Pocket to Prince *Georgi-Kan* from all his Friends, who gave him a mighty Character of the Bearer, and especially from *Divan-Beg*, the Prince's Brother; wherein he gave him to understand that he could do nothing too much in Acknowledgment, for all the good Things which *Myrr-Weis* had said of him, during his Stay at Court.

ABOUT the End of the Year 1709. he arrived at *Candabar*, where he was received as the Saviour and Hero of his Nation. He lost no Time there; but, in order to make his Advantage of the Troubles and Alarms, in which he had left the Court, he acted his Part so well in a few Days, that by the Favour of the Confidence which he had acquired with the Governor, he found an Opportunity to assassinate him, when he least of all mistrusted him, while at the same Instant the People, who had taken Arms, put all the *Georgian* or *Persian* Troops that were in the Garrison to the Sword.

As soon as the Expedition was over, and every Thing in *Candabar* quiet, he called the People together; and, after having congratulated them upon the Courage and Resolution, with which they had freed themselves from the Oppression they were under by
the

the *Georgians*, he told them that this was not enough ; and that the next Thing they must do was to make a Struggle for their Deliverance from the Slavery and Tyranny of the *Persians*. That, as to the rest, he could assure them they had nothing to fear from the Resentments of the Court ; that besides their being too far distant to be attacked in a Trice, all Things were in such Confusion there, by the Clashing of the Parties with one another, that they were not able to undertake any thing to their Prejudice ; that even if they should, the *Muscovites*, the *Armenians*, and the *Georgians*, would cut out so much Work for the Court, that they would have many other Things to do, than to think of recovering *Candahar* ; and that, happen what would, it must cost them a great deal of Blood, before they could carry their Point. That, if they had any Hearts, they should think of nothing hereafter, but how to maintain themselves by Arms in that State of Liberty to which they were now restored ; that they ought at last to be weary of paying so many Tributes ; and that the Independency which they were going to live in, would secure them from the insatiable Avarice of the Governors, who enriched themselves at their Expence, and who seemed to be sent among them for no other End, but to make their Fortunes in a little Time.

THOUGH this Speech was so pathetick, yet it met with Opposition from many of the chief Men of the Country, who did not approve the going on so fast, nor the pushing of Things so far. They spoke in their Turn, and represented, that what had been done against the *Georgians* was just, and carried its Excuse along with it : That, after so many Insults from those Infidels, upon the Honour of their Wives and Daughters, they ought certainly to be extirpated ; but that they should stop there : That to talk of a Rebellion was the Way to stain the Nation by a Blot that would for ever dishonour it, and which they abhorred to think of : That, in short, they had a King, whom
they

they owned for such, and to whom they had sworn Allegiance; and that they did not see how they could in Honour or Conscience break the Oath which they had taken to him.

THOUGH *Myrr-Weis* perceiv'd the Impression which this Remonstrance made in the Assembly, especially the Part relating to the Oath of Allegiance, he was not willing to stop the Effect of it, as he might have done immediately. He gave all the Liberty of Speech to those who were of an Opinion contrary to his, and who by insisting so much on the Oath of Allegiance, which they continually set before the Eyes of the People, had cooled the Passions of those that were the hottest, and reduced them to Sentiments of Moderation. But after he had let them spend all their Ammunition, he spoke again, saying, " That the
 " Scruple they had as to the Obligation of an Oath
 " of Allegiance was lawful, and well grounded;
 " that he labour'd under that Scruple a long Time
 " himself; that for the many Years he had been contriving how to free his Country from the Slavery
 " under which it groan'd, this single Consideration
 " of the Oath was all that had restrained him; that
 " though the Contraventions of the *Persians*, with
 " respect to several considerable Articles of their Capitulations sworn by the King, seemed to excuse
 " them from being any more scrupulous of the Oath
 " they had taken to him, than they were as to the
 " Oath by which the King had bound himself to
 " them, he did not mean that the Infidelity of others
 " should be an Example proper for them to follow,
 " or which could quiet their Consciences; that no
 " body paid a greater Deference than he to the Obligations which were imposed by an Oath of Allegiance; that he was always persuaded that no Pretext or Consideration could free him from it; that
 " he had a long Time persisted in those Sentiments,
 " and should still persist therein, if he had not been
 " compelled to submit to the most awful Authority in
 " their

“ their Religion, and to which they themselves could not dispense with their Submission.”

WHEN he said these Words, he pulled out of his Pocket the *Fetfa*, or the Decision which he had brought from *Mecca*, and caused it to be read before the whole Assembly; which had so speedy and compleat an Effect, that the most scrupulous immediately consented, and there was no body who did not think themselves not only warranted by the Authority of the Doctors of *Mecca*, and *Medina*, but even obliged in Conscience to take Arms against the King. And because that, after a Resolution of this Nature, it was necessary to give some Form to the Government, *Myrr-Weis*, who was very glad to lay hold of the Temper he found the People in, pressed the Assembly to make suitable Provision. They were not long in deliberating: The common People, whose Darling he was, and who looked upon him as the Restorer of their Liberty, and the Father of their Country, named him on the Spot, with Acclamations, Prince of *Candahar*, and General of the Troops of the Nation, leaving the Conduct of all Affairs, both of Peace and War, to his Care.

BUT as he wanted Time to confirm himself in his new Dominion and to put himself in a Condition to resist the Forces that might be sent against him when the Court had Advice of his Rebellion, his first Care was to amuse the Court, with respect to the Transactions at *Candahar*. Therefore he sent Expresses thither, whereby he gave the King and his Ministers to understand that the Insurrection at *Candahar*, was only owing to the Licentiousness and Tyranny of the *Georgian* Troops, who living in that City, as in a Town which they had taken by Storm, and indulging themselves in the most scandalous Outrages against the Honour of their Wives and Daughters, had so exasperated all the Inhabitants, that it was not possible to restrain them from sacrificing them to their Revenge: That he hoped this would be of no Consequence; and that

that he would omit nothing on his Part to do the King all the Service upon this Occasion, which his Majesty had Reason to expect from his Loyalty and Zeal; and to maintain his Nation in the Obedience they ow'd him: That in the mean time he thought it his Duty to represent to him, that according to the Disposition he found in People who were scarce recovered from their Indignation and Rage against the *Georgians*, for their Insults, it was proper to dissemble, and to give them Time to be calm; that otherwise if they saw the Court inclin'd to take violent Resolutions against them, he would not be sure, whatever Effort he made to oppose it, that they would not rush through Despair into the Hands of their old Masters, and call them to their Assistance, which would kindle a fatal War, the Consequences whereof were to be feared.

SUCH was the Distance from *Candahar* to *Ispahan*, that it was scarce possible to be well inform'd of the Truth of Things at Court, where they believ'd, or pretended to believe, that every thing was true as he reported: And the Considerations he made use of to hinder the Court from undertaking any Thing, had the more Weight, because they were back'd by the chief Leaders of the Faction, who were the Cause of sending him back to *Candahar*, to contrive the Ruin of the Prince *Georgi-Kan*. Their Jealousy could not brook that so considerable and rich a Province, should be in the Hands of the *Georgians*, to the Prejudice of the *Persians*. Besides, the Court was too much alarm'd still by the Chimera's of the Kingdom of *Armenia*, to have any Inclination to involve it self in fresh Broils. Thus they suffer'd the Remainder of this Year, and all the next, to slide away, without giving the least Disturbance to the Rebels, according as *Myrr-Weis* had indeed foreseen; and he had all that Time to fortify himself, in case they should come to attack him.

AT last, when two Years were near expir'd, viz. in 1721. when they were fully recover'd of all the Alarms which the pretended future Re-establishment of the Kingdom of *Armenia* had fill'd their Heads with, they turn'd their Eyes towards *Candabar*, and prepared to take effectual Measures to reduce the Rebels to Reason, and to recover a Province, which was look'd upon as one of the most important of the Kingdom.

THEY could not have taken wiser Measures for it than they did; for as no body could be more concern'd to revenge the Death of the Prince *Georgi-Kan*, and the *Georgians*, who had been massacred with him in the Rebellion of *Candabar*, than a Prince of the same Family, and Troops of the same Nation, they chose for General of this Expedition, the Prince *Kostrou-Kan*, the deceased's Nephew, and gave him an Army, consisting for the greatest Part of the *Georgians* his Subjects. The Court found a double Advantage in it; for besides the Service it prov'd to them against the Rebels, it considerably weaken'd *Georgia*, of which they never thought themselves very secure. Mean Time, for Fear, lest the *Georgians* should be too cock-a-hoop, if they alone should gain their Point over the Rebels, and lest, valuing themselves on their Success, they should be tempted to undertake something upon their own Strength against the State, a considerable Body of *Persian* Troops was join'd to them, who by sharing the Honour of the Victory with them, would be in a Condition to hinder them from making an ill Use of it.

NOTHING in the World could have happened better than this; and the Rebels would have had all the Reason in Nature to have repented of their Rebellion, if, as *Myrr-Weis* really foresaw, the Divisions at Court had not ruin'd all those great Preparations. The same Faction, which by procuring the sending back of *Myrr-Weis* to *Candabar*, had caused the Death of Prince *Georgi-Kan*, and the Rebellion of the Province, was concern'd to thwart the Expedition of

this

this Prince's Nephew. They apprehended, that if he should succeed, a Service of that Importance would render him too great in the King's Opinion, and that he would find an Opportunity to let him know the Intelligence which that Faction had held with *Myrr-Weis*, and consequently the Concern it had in the Rebellion. It was therefore not doubted, that if the Rebels had been worsted, he would have been Master of a great many Secrets, which could not be stifled, but by disappointing the Expedition which was preparing against them. Consequently the *Anti-Georgians* look'd upon it as the main Article on which their Credit and Fortune turn'd ; and *Myrr-Weis* would have had this Advantage in his Rebellion, that as he was much concern'd to be in a Readiness to ward off the Blows that were coming upon him ; he had Friends in the very Ministry of the Court of *Persia*, who were no less concern'd to take off the Force and Edge of those with which he was threaten'd. For this End some Engines were set at Work, which, though private, and out of the Way, were not the less effectual. Three were employ'd especially, which were enough to have dash'd the best concerted Projects in the World. The first was with regard to the Money which the General was to receive for the Pay of the Troops during the Campaign. The Sums had been regulated according to the State of the Army in the King's Council, and the same were accordingly allotted. This, which was only a Matter of Consultation, could not be attended with any Difficulty, both because it was a Thing of Course, and the rather, because it was regulated in Presence of the King himself, who had this Expedition very much at Heart. But when it came to be put in Execution, in which the King had no share, and they were forc'd to have Recourse to the Treasurers and subordinate Officers, a thousand Ways were invented to elude the Orders which had been given in Council ; and such Ministers

as had publickly authorized them by their Suffrages, were, under-hand, the most forward to defeat them. There was not only a Delay in the Payments, which coming too late, and after the Blow was given, disabled the General from the Power to make use of them for the Execution of his Designs, but so many other Pretences were started, that notwithstanding all his Solicitations and Remonstrances on that Head, he could never get more than one third of the Sum which had been promis'd him, and which was absolutely necessary for the Success of his Expedition.

THE second Obstacle he met with, was owing to the *Persian* Troops that had join'd his Army, and which being loth to obey a General that was a Foreigner, had desir'd that they might be commanded by an Officer of their own Nation, and by him only; which was of very fatal Consequence for the particular Service. For though this special commanding Officer was subordinate to the General on some Accounts, and with respect to the substantial Part of the Expedition, yet as a Dependance on any superior, and especially on one that is a Foreigner, and therefore odious, is always disagreeable to a Commander, who is at the Head of a considerable Body of Troops of the governing Nation, there were a thousand Instances wherein the latter shew'd his Opinion of his own Merit, by evading and thwarting the General's Orders; and he did it with the less Decorum, because he was very sensible, that instead of its being ill taken at his Hands, it would render him acceptable to the Faction of the *Anti-Georgians*, who had recommended nothing so much to him, as to behave in that Manner, and to be as disagreeable to the General as he possibly could.

BUT the most cruel Engine that was employ'd against him, and what was the principal Cause of his Ruin, and the Rout of his Army, was an Officer that was appointed, as it were, to do him Honour, and by Way of special Distinction, in Quality of Intendant or Steward of his Household. For this Purpose

pose a Man was chose of a crafty insinuating Temper, who by Favour of the Access which his Employment gave him to the General, introduc'd himself into his Confidence, and discover'd his Secrets. 'Tis not said, whether this Officer was chose in Concert with *Myrr-Weis*; but 'tis certain, that he himself could not have made a better Choice; and that the Wretch prov'd a Spy that exactly inform'd him of all the Designs and Counsels of the Army that was sent against him. This unhappy Spy did worse than all this; he went over to the Rebels, and serv'd them as a Guide to *Ispahan*.

It was not possible, but an Expedition thwarted in so many Respects by those who were trusted with the Direction of it, must have a fatal Issue. The Delays on one hand, in the Payment of Part of the Sums that had been promis'd, and on the other hand, the affected Slowness of the *Persian* Troops to join the *Georgians*, were the Reason that the Army arriv'd too late at *Candabar*, and that it did not enter the Province, but at a Time when *Myrr-Weis* had taken such Precautions that it could not subsist there.

THIS Leader of the Rebels, whose Intelligence of the State of the Enemy's Army, of its March and Designs, was the more to be depended on, because he had it from some of the very Ministers who directed the Operations of it, was inform'd of the precise Time that it was to enter the Province. As he was not in a Condition to undertake to repel it, by opposing Forces that were equal or superior to it, he attempted to ruin it by depriving it of the Means of Subsistence. 'Twas with this View, that after he had diligently gather'd in the Harvest, and sent all the Corn from the Country to *Candabar*, he march'd out of the City, at the Head of his Troops, and went and made such Spoil in all the neighbouring Countries for several Leagues round, that when the Army arriv'd near *Candabar*, it found neither Provisions nor Forrage, nor had any Hopes of getting any elsewhere, the Excursions of

Myrr-Weis having oblig'd all the Country People to retire with all their Effects to some Place of Safety.

AT the Entrance therefore of the Campaign, the Army labour'd under all the Inconveniences of Scarcity, which are seldom felt but at the End of an Expedition. Upon this ensued a Misunderstanding between the *Georgians* and *Persians*, the latter complaining, that the General was more concern'd for the Necessities of his own Vassals and *Georgians*, than he was for theirs. They would fain indeed have drawn the Rebels into the open Country; and considering the general Scarcity throughout the whole Army, it was the only Resource they had left; but they had to do with an Enemy too cunning to commit the like Fault. *Myrr-Weis* stood with his Arms folded upon the Walls of *Candabar*, from whence he cast an Eye of Concern upon the Confederate Enemy's Army, which was wasting it self to no Purpose, being resolv'd not to stir out till he saw them retreating. Mean Time his Troops, who were shelter'd in the Town where they wanted for nothing, only waited for his Orders to follow him, and to fall upon the Rear-Guard of the Army, as soon as it should decamp.

THEY did not wait long. The *Persians*, who could not bear the Heat of the Sun, and were in absolute Want of Forrage, an Inconvenience so much the worse for them, because their Armies consist for most Part of Horse, desir'd or rather extorted Leave of the General to retire; which put him also under a Necessity of retiring with his Troops, which he sent before with the Baggage, keeping himself in the Rear-Guard with the Flower of the Troops, to cover their March. *Myrr-Weis*, whose Eyes were every where, did not yet know whether his Decampment was made in Earnest, or in Jest; but he was soon let into the Secret, by the Treachery of the Intendant that was plac'd with the General; who taking Advantage of that sort of Disorder which always attends the Retreat of an Army, ran away with the News

to *Candabar*, where he took off the Mask, and join'd the Rebels.

MYRR-WEIS who had only waited for this Moment, immediately took the Field at the Head of a great Body of Troops, all fresh Men, who having an Enemy to oppose, that was already fatigued by Heat, and weaken'd by Poverty, went to the Battle as to a certain Victory, of which they could not fail. Being mounted upon fresh Horses, and having no other Incumbrance but their Arms, they were soon up with the Rear-Guard of the Enemy's Army. At first they only harrassed it by a few Skirmishes, to give Time for the Arrival of a Reinforcement that *Myrr-Weis* expected, which could not march so fast as the Horse, viz. a Body of eight hundred Camels, which carried two Soldiers each, Back to Back, arm'd with great Carbines. This Reinforcement was no sooner arriv'd, but they fell on all Sides upon the Rear-Guard, which was all cut in Pieces, with the General. *Myrr-Weis* immediately after this first Expedition, went and fell upon the *Persian* Troops, that were retiring with the less Apprehension or Precaution, because they thought themselves secur'd by the Rear-Guard, of whose Defeat they were not inform'd. He made a bloody Slaughter of them, and carried away all their Baggage. One would have imagin'd, that *Myrr-Weis* would have thought two Victories enough for the Work of one Day; however, he did not stop there, but resolv'd to attack the Body of the *Georgian* Army, which was marching homewards the other Way. But he was check'd in his Progress, by a Troop of five hundred *Georgians*, who, though surrounded on all Sides, defended themselves with so much Resolution and Courage, that they cut their Way through the Enemy Sword in Hand, and went and join'd the Body of their Army, which perhaps would have been surpriz'd in their March, and defeated as well as their Rear-Guard, had it not been for this timely Intelligence. The Resistance which *Myrr-*

Weis

Weis met with from those five hundred *Georgians*, made him give over the Thoughts of pursuing the main Body of an Army consisting of such good Troops, and he return'd with his *Aghvans* laden with Booty, to *Candabar*, being follow'd into the Town with all the Baggage of the Enemy's Army ; and though they had been twice victorious, they could not help doing Justice, even at their own Expence, to the Bravery of the *Georgians*, saying, *That the Persians were but Women compar'd with the Aghvans, and the Aghvans but Women compar'd with the Georgians.*

THE Death of *Kastrow-Kan*, the General of the Army, who was killed in Defence of the Rear-Guard, was the most considerable Loss that *Persia* sustain'd on this Occasion, and which it was the more difficult for it to repair, there being at that Time no Captain in the Kingdom worthy to succeed him. This Prince was so unhappy, as to renounce the Christian Religion for the Mahometan, in order to secure his Right to the Principality of *Georgia*, which he enjoy'd with the Title of Vassal and Governor in the Name of the King of *Persia*. But he afterwards repented of it, and he was resolv'd to abjure Mahometism, happen what would, and to return to the Church, as soon as his Expedition to *Candabar* was at an End, with full Purpose, if it must be so, to sacrifice his Principality to his Religion. He had actually begun to make Declaration of it, by causing a Cross to be placed in his main Standard. The Missionaries had not a more declared Protector in the Kingdom of *Persia*. He had always two Capuchins with him, whom he kept there under the Title of Physicians, and carried with him in his Expedition to *Candabar*, as well as a Carmelite, named *Father Basil*.

THE Consternation at the Court of *Ispahan*, and over all the Kingdom, upon the News of this great Defeat was extraordinary, and even those who rejoiced in their Hearts, as having been the Instruments of it out of spite to the *Georgians*, were obliged to keep their

their Joy secret, and to conform to the publick Sorrow. The Miscarriage of this Expedition so discouraged the Court, that they were not in haste to undertake another. But at two Years End they seem'd to revive, and at the End of every two Years they made some fresh Attempt; tho' the most fortunate of all those Enterprizes for the Court, were such wherein the King's Army was able to retire, if without Advantage, yet without any considerable Shock. As for the others, which were all signaliz'd by fresh Defeats, they only served to gain the Rebel's Party Credit, and to discover the Folly and Weakness of the Court more and more. There were scarce any but the *Georgians* that were capable of reducing the Rebels to Reason, and they even offered to march against them a second Time; but as they imputed the ill Successes of their former Campaign in the first Place to the wicked Tricks that were put upon them, by the affected Delays in the Payment of the Sums promised them, of which they had scarce touched above a third Part; secondly, to the ill Conduct of the *Persian* Troops that had joined them, and by whom they complained they were abandoned and betray'd; they were not willing to undertake the Expedition to *Candahar*, but upon two Conditions: 1st, That they should be punctually paid all the Sums stipulated; 2^{dly}, That their Army should consist of Troops of their own Nation only, and that they alone should have Charge of the Enterprize.

THE first of these two Conditions was just, and met with no Difficulty; but the second, which was the principal, and as to which they would hear of no *Medium*, caused the Proposition to miscarry, because the Court thought the Remedy almost as dangerous as the Evil. For it was equally unsafe for the Court, whether the Enterprize succeeded, or not: If it succeeded, the *Georgians*, who would have all the Glory of it, would thereby become the more formidable, and the better able to shake off the Yoke, which they

had already attempted to shake off more than once. If it did not succeed, it would only serve to add new Strength to the Rebellion, and more Reputation to the Rebels; of whose Reduction there would afterwards be no Hopes. Therefore, considering how unable the Court was to undertake any thing upon its own Bottom that had any Prospect of Success, they chose rather to dissemble the Misfortune, and to let it take its Course, than to employ suspicious and equivocal Remedies, the very Success of which seemed as much to be feared as the Miscarriage. Therefore they made no real Attempt against the Rebels; who improving the tranquil State in which they were left, made Incursions into the Provinces that were contiguous to them; and spreading Terror every where, under the Conduct of *Myrr-Weis* their General, they secured their Dominion, and his too, by new Atchievements.

THIS famous Ring-Leader of the Rebels at length accomplished all his Projects. He had broke in Pieces the Yoke which his Nation had for a long Time laboured under, and had made his Name famous by the Boldness of the Undertaking, and the Lustre of his Victories. So many Armies as had been sent against him were either intirely defeated, or all repulsed, and obliged to retire with Shame, and without any Advantage. By the constant Success he had in all the Expeditions which were hazarded against him, he had made the Court of *Persia* sensible of their Incapacity, not only to reduce him, but also to protect the Provinces with which he was encompassed, against his Excursions. He had already half subdued them by the Terror of his Name and Arms; so that it may be said, he was arrived to the Summit of Glory, if indeed Glory can be acquired in an unjust Cause, when Death overtook him at *Candahar* in 1717. after seven or eight Years of Government, always happy, to the great Regret of his Countrymen, whose Esteem and Affection

Affection for him increased every Day, after they had once taken a Fancy to him.

T H E Y still preserved the same Affection for him after they had lost him; for though by his Death they were at Liberty to choose a Commander out of their own Nation, yet they had so much Respect for his Memory, that they would not take one that was not of his Family; and as his Children were as yet too young for a Post of that Importance, which was to make Head against all the Power of *Persia*, they promoted his own Brother, the Father of Sultan *Aszraff*, the present Regent of *Ispahan*, who at once had the Care of the Government, and the Guardianship of his Nephews.

T H I S new Commander, whose Name is not set down in my Memoirs, was of a very different Character from *Myrr-Weis* his Brother. The latter was not more bold and enterprizing, than the other was moderate and circumspect. The great Success of his Brother had not dazzled his Eyes, but he clearly saw the Difference which there was between the Strength of a vast Monarchy, and that of a particular Province; and he was afraid, that if the Court of *Persia* should once revive out of that languishing stupid State it was in for some Years past, and concert juster and wiser Measures than it had done hitherto, the Rebels would fall a Victim to a Power whose Resentment would be the more terrible, because it had not only the Crime of Rebellion to revenge, but the Shame of its Defeats.

T H E S E Considerations inclin'd him to Peace, in which the best Heads of the Nation were of his Opinion. For as they believ'd they were not able to hold out to the End against all the Forces of *Persia*, they thought it would be the best Way for their Nation to take the Advantage of their present Superiority, and of the weak Condition of the Court, in order to make the best Terms they could, and to free themselves at least from those Impositions of the Government, which were too despotick and too burthensome.

W I T H

WITH this View, therefore, and by Advice of the chief Men of the Nation, Instructions were drawn up for the Deputies that were to be sent to *Ispahan*. By this Deputation they made an Offer to reconcile themselves to the Obedience of the Crown of *Persia* on these two Conditions: 1. That as the Rebellion was only owing to the Oppressions and Violence of the Governors and foreign Troops quartered upon them, no more should be sent them for the future; and that, after the Example of some other Provinces of *Persia*, whose Government was appropriated to certain particular Families, that of *Candabar*, and the whole Province of the *Aghvans*, should for the future be hereditary in the Family of the late *Myrr-Weis*. 2. That the Tribute formerly pay'd should be lessened.

IT being impossible to foresee that the Court of *Persia* would fall into that State of Lethargy and Contempt, which it afterwards sunk into, nothing was more commended than the Course which the Rebels took. They came off of their Rebellion with Honour, by making a considerable Alteration in their Condition for the better, and by guarding themselves for the future against any Danger from the Oppression of the *Persians*. It was moreover out of Doubt, that in the then Situation of the Court, they would readily have subscribed to Conditions for the Recovery of a Province which they were not able to reduce, and for being delivered from so much Uneasiness, and Perplexity, though with some Diminution of their Authority. But the Misfortune was, that when the Deputies were just ready to set out, this Project of Pacification was quash'd by an Event that no Body dream'd of.

THOUGH the greatest and wisest Men in the Nation were all, as has been said, very much for a Reconciliation, yet the greatest Part of the common People, and the Soldiers especially, could not relish it. Being puffed up with their late Victories, they could not bear to think of submitting to a People that
they

they had always beat, since they rose in Arms; besides they did not think it a safe Course to take. They said, " That whatever Conditions were stipulated, they could not depend upon the Sincerity of the *Persians*, who would never forget how much they had lost by them, nor the bloody Affronts they had heaped upon them; that they ought by no Means to lay down their Arms; and that even though they should submit, at the long Run, they would have no more to fear from *Persians* flush'd with Victory, than what they should now of their own free Choice expose themselves to, from *Persians* vanquished, and therefore exasperated. Besides, said they, why should they be in such haste to put themselves in Irons, which no Body durst hold out to them? And why should not they rather take Advantage of the Folly and Indolence of the Court of *Persia*, in order to bring in neighbouring Provinces to their Party, and even to force them, if necessary, Sword in Hand, to join with them against the common Enemy? That if they could but once come to such a Resolution, they would soon be strong enough, not only to hold out against all the Attacks of the *Persians*, but even to fall upon them, and carry the War to their own Doors."

THIS, which was the publick Discourse of the common People, made the more Impression, because it perfectly tallied with the Advice which *Myrr-Weis* gave on his Death-Bed; for when there was no Hopes of his Recovery, the chief Men of the Nation, being alarmed by the Loss of a Man who was the Soul of their Party, and their real Support, thought fit to consult him what Measures they should take after his Death; whether they should continue the War, or enter into an Accommodation. To which he gave this Answer precisely: *If the Persians, said he, are obstinately bent to come and attack you, make your Peace upon any Terms; but if they sleep over this War, go and attack them even to the Gates of Ispahan.*

THIS

THIS Disposition of the Populace, directly contrary to the pacifick Views of the new Governor and his Council, obliged them to conceal the Measures they took for the Treaty with the Court from the Notice of the Publick; though some of their Deliberations were not so secret, but that they took Wings and flew to the Ears of *Maghmud*, one of the Sons of *Myrr-Weis*.

THIS young Man, who could not be above seventeen or eighteen Years of Age, having followed his Father in all his Expeditions from a Child, and been brought up among the Soldiers, who were very fond of him, no sooner smelt what was doing, but upon the bare Suspicion of it he formed a Resolution against his Uncle and Guardian, which was suitable to his natural Savageness, and the barbarous Education he had among Murderers and Free-Booters. As he lodged in the same Apartment with him, he found Means to get into his Chamber one Night, and cut off his Head while he was asleep. As soon as he had struck this Blow, he ran to the Tower, on the Top of which were the Drums with which they used to call the People together, and beat an Alarm: From thence descending into the Square, he acquainted the chief Men he found there of what he had done; and to justify so strange an Action, he read the Instructions to them, which he found among his Uncle's Papers for the Deputies which he was going to send to Court. Then he exhorted them to push on the War with more Vigour than ever, engaging, if they would but follow him, and own him for their Commander, to convince them that he knew how to put in Practice the Lessons he had receiv'd from his Father, in the many Campaigns which he had attended him in from his Infancy.

As the Mischief was done, and could not be undone, what had passed was approved of. The Soldiers who had a natural Affection, as was before observed, for *Maghmud*, who was always among them from a Child, were the first to declare in his Favour; and he
had

had not only their Suffrages, but those of all the People at the same time. Thus hid *Myrr-Maghmud* acquire the general Command over all his Nation by Parricide, a Crime which God would not suffer to go unpunished, but, as we shall see by-and-by, permitted Sultan *Afzraff*, his Cousin-Germain, and Son of him whom *Maghmud* had sacrificed to his Ambition, to make the same Victim of the Murderer to his own Ambition, by cutting off his Head, as he was in Bed, after the same Manner as *Maghmud* had cut off the Head of *Afzraff*'s Father. - - - But to return where we left off.

M Y R R-M A G H M U D, who naturally loved War, and whose Inclinations were, moreover, confirmed by his Education in the Soldiery, and in the Noise of Military Expeditions, no sooner found himself Prince of *Candabar*, and General of the *Aghvans* in his Father's Room, but he aim'd to signalize himself by some Exploit that might justify the Choice that had been made of his Person, by putting him at the Head of the Nation, and make up for the Authority he wanted on Account of his Youth. Happy for him, the Court of *Persia* gave him all the Leisure that could be; for, as they flattered themselves that an End was put to the Rebellion by the Death of *Myrr-Weis*, and found those Hopes more and more confirmed by the Notice they had of the peaceable Temper of his Brother and Successor, as well as the most considerable People of the Nation, they did not think fit to run any Risque for the Recovery of a Province by Arms, which they shortly expected to regain by an Accommodation; and when they afterwards heard of the late Revolution at *Candabar*, by the Murder of the Brother of *Myrr-Weis*, and the Election of his Son, it was too late to give Order for the preparing and sending of an Army to make War above four hundred Leagues from the capital City.

T H E new General forthwith took the Field, and following the Plan which *Myrr-Weis* his Father, chalk'd

chalk'd out for him on his Death-Bed, in case that the People declared for War, design'd immediately to make himself known, and to strike a Terror into the neighbouring Provinces by his Ravages. After he had done this sufficiently, by frequent Excursions always successful, he was more particularly intent upon a Design, the Success of which would double the Power and Forces of his Nation, and qualify them for greater Views, than keeping barely on the Defensive, as they had done hitherto with Regard to *Persia*.

T H E R E was in the Neighbourhood of *Candabar* a Province called *Hasarai*, which was inhabited by *Aghvans*, as well as that of *Candabar*. These two People, who were of the same Origin, and who antiently formed but one and the same Nation, differed in nothing but Religion. Indeed they both followed the Mahometan Law; but with this Difference, that the *Aghvans* of *Hasarai* were of the same Belief as the *Persians*; whereas those of *Candabar* conformed to that of the *Turks*. The former were of the Sect of the *Rafi*, and the latter of the Sect of the *Sunni*; which makes the great Distinction between the two Branches of the Mahometan Religion, into which all *Asia* is divided.

W H I L E the *Candabar* Rebels were forming a Design to strengthen their Party, by making an Union and League with some Nation, there was none that agreed better with them than the *Aghvans* of *Hasarai*. They were originally Brothers, and they had the same Inclinations, and the same Customs. 'Tis true that the inveterate Enmity there is between the *Rafi*'s, and the *Sunni*'s, had formed a Wall of Separation between these two Tribes of *Aghvans*, which it was very difficult to break down. And they constantly resisted the most pressing Solicitations which the *Aghvans* of *Candabar* made use of to engage them to join them. They chose to side with their Brothers on the Score of Religion, preferable to those who were so by Birth; and the Attachment which they had to their Sect al-
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ways supported their Fidelity to the last, as long as they were able to hold out; so that if they complied, 'twas only because they had no other Course to take. For *Myrr-Maghmud* perceiving that no good was to be done with them by a Course of Negotiation, had recourse to Arms; and he harrassed and plagued them to such a Degree, that while they were abandoned on one hand, by the *Persians*, whose Assistance they had often in vain implored, and pressed on the other hand by the Enemy, who opened their Arms to receive them; and instead of improving their Advantage to bring them under Subjection, only desired to make them Partners in their good Fortune against the *Persians*, they at last consented to join them, and were as firm and constant to the new Party, which the Necessity of their Affairs had obliged them to embrace, as they had been true to the King, while they were able to stand by him. *Myrr-Maghmud* employ'd the two first Years of his Generalship to bring them to these Terms, while the Inaction of the Court of *Persia* gave him all the Leisure for it that could be.

THE Declaration of the *Aghvans* of *Hasarai* in Favour of those of *Candabar*, as much surpriz'd and alarm'd the Court of *Persia*, as it did Honour to *Myrr-Maghmud*, who, as the first Essay of his Conduct and Valour, had just consummated an Affair which even *Myrr-Weis* his Father was not able to accomplish. The Court found in the Son an Enemy still more dangerous than in the Father, in regard that he was of a more enterprizing Genius; and then his Youth, which was already made illustrious by happy Atchievements, seem'd to presage a long and bloody War, if it was not prevented in Time. It was resolv'd therefore, to send a stronger Army against him, than all that had yet taken the Field.

THE only Thing that remain'd to be done, was to choose a General for an Expedition which was reckon'd of the greatest Importance that could be undertaken in the then Situation of Affairs. For this Purpose

pose they cast their Eyes on a Nobleman, nam'd *Sefi-Kuli-Kan*, which signifies the Lord *who is Slave to Sefi*. Every Body approv'd of the Choice, and even the prevailing Faction at Court, after all their Opposition to it, consented. The Motive which induc'd the Leaders of that Faction to concur in it, was this; Either he will succeed in this War, said they; or else he will miscarry in it, as others have done. If he succeeds, in this Case we shall find our Advantage by the Service it will prove to the State, in the Government of which we have a large Share; and if on the contrary he miscarry, he will be a new Sacrifice to our Party.

REALLY a better Choice could not have been made for the intended Expedition; but it was more easy to nominate the Person, than it was to make the Employment acceptable to him. *Sefi-Kuli-Kan* had formerly been *Divan-Beg*, or Chief Justice at *Ispahan*; and as he was a Nobleman of approv'd Integrity, he exercis'd that great Office with such a strict Impartiality, that the Favourites and chief Courtiers who saw that he had no Regard to their Recommendations, could not relish him, and even found Means to put the King out of Conceit with that unalterable Regard to Justice, which they construed as excessive Rigour; so that this Nobleman perceiving that he disoblig'd his Master in the very Thing that ought to have gain'd him more of his Esteem, and that nothing was to be got by discharging the Part of a Man of Honour under a Prince who, though perfectly honest himself, had not Judgment enough to set a true Value upon Probity, and had too much Folly to support and protect it, he resign'd his Post to the King, and retir'd from Court with Indignation.

THEY therefore chose him for the Expedition to *Candahar* in his Absence, and nothing but the pressing Necessity they were under for a General of his Merit and Character, made them think of him, and forc'd the Ministers to go and find him out in his obscure Retreat.

treat. But as he knew all the Artifices that were put in Practice to thwart and disconcert the former Expeditions, and that he was as odious to the prevailing Faction, as were the late Prince *Koftrou-Kan*, and the Generals whom they had sacrific'd to their Hatred and Interest, he excus'd himself without Hesitation from the Employment to which they had design'd him. Not all the Intreaty of the Ministers, and the King himself, could conquer the Aversion he declar'd to so dangerous a Commission, and he persisted to excuse himself to the last. But as they saw none besides him really capable, they made use of a Court Stratagem, which whether he would, or no, put him under a Necessity of serving.

HE had an only Son that he dearly lov'd, whose fine Qualities promis'd much. They imagin'd, that by giving this Son, though as yet but seventeen Years old, the Title of General for the Expedition which was in hand, the Father would be forc'd to accompany him, and that his Tendernefs would so far prevail over all his Pleas, that he would not forbear going into the Field, to command an Army in the Name of, and as Lieutenant to his Son, which they could not perswade him to command in Chief.

THEREFORE according to the Custom in *Persia*, when they have a Mind to vest any one with absolute and extraordinary Authority, they sent the Son a very fine Horse, cover'd with a rich Harness, a Buckler, and Pike, a Cuirass cover'd with Gold Brocade, and a Turban adorn'd with Diamonds. All this was presented as from the King to this young Nobleman, and season'd with all the fine Compliments that could be most acceptable and pleasing to his Person. The Father indeed foresaw what would be the Consequences of a Snare which was thrown in the Way of his Tendernefs: But he was his Father; and he could not withstand the Intreaties of a Son so exceeding dear to him, who flatter'd with a Mark of Honour and Distinction, which was not to be parallel'd in a Youth of

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his tender Years, conjur'd him with Tears, not to be the only Man in the whole Kingdom to oppose his good Fortune. Therefore he consented to it, though with Difficulty; and that he might not abandon his Son to the Fire and Fury of Youth, in so dangerous an Employment, he resolv'd, as the Court had foreseen, to accompany him in that great Expedition in Quality of his Lieutenant.

THE Complaisance he had for his Son having prevail'd with him in this Instance, beyond all the Authority of his Prince, did not escape the malicious Reflections of the Courtiers, who in order to diminish before-hand the Merit of the Service in which he was engag'd, did not fail of observing to the King, that he had not so much Interest with *Sefi-Kuli-Kan*, as his Son had, for whose Sake he had done more than he would have done for any Regard he ow'd to his Prince, or to the Welfare of the State.

MEAN time the Father and the Son made their Preparations, and after they had form'd an Army of sixteen thousand choice Men, the young General, accompanied by his Father, went to Court, where he was receiv'd with all the Marks of Distinction that could flatter his Vanity. The King made a publick Entertainment for him, to which the Father was also invited; but he excus'd himself. He girt his Sword also by his Side, in Presence of the whole Court; and that he might have an Opportunity of shewing his Skill on Horseback, and in throwing the Spear, he had a little Tournament made for him, after the Manner of the Country, in the Meidan or great Square of *Ispahan*; where the Youth distinguish'd himself to the Satisfaction of the King, and with the Acclamations of the People.

IN the Midst of these Acclamations, and with the Prayers of all the Publick, he set out from *Ispahan* to head his Army. But the Event did not answer those shining Preludes. He had no sooner set Foot in the Enemy's Province, but being carried away by the
* Ardour

Ardour of a young Man, and forgetting the Advice that had been given him by his Father, who follow'd him with the main Army, he went rashly with some Squadrons which he had in the Van, and skirmish'd with the first Troops that he met with of the Rebel's Army, by whom he was kill'd. The Misfortune of the Son soon drew on that of the Father, who heard this tragical News too soon, and having nothing more to mind after he had lost his only Son, the sole Object of his Love and Hopes, hearken'd to no Advice but that of Revenge and Fury, and rush'd into the Middle of the Enemy, where fighting desperately, he was at last over-power'd by Numbers, and found in Death an End to all his Sorrow. After the Loss of the Generals, the Army gave Ground, and was entirely routed.

THE Court, which the least Losses in former Campaigns dispirited, seem'd to take Heart in this, and was encourag'd to enter upon new Measures, for renewing the War with more Vigour than it had been carried on hitherto. Mean time, as no Body offer'd to conduct an Expedition, which by Reason of the Death or ill Success of so many able Generals who had fail'd in it, was look'd upon as a dangerous Rock, the *Athemat-Doulet*, or chief Minister, was so zealous for the King's Service, that he offer'd himself to his Majesty for this great Enterprize. The King who did him the Justice to have a high Opinion of his Capacity, very well lik'd the Proposal, and would readily have set his Hand to it, if he had not been diverted by the Eunuchs, who being jealous of the Minister's Credit, represented to the King, that it was not Prudence to join so great a military Post, as the Command of his Armies, to that absolute Authority, with which he was already vested in the Chief Post of *Athemat-Doulet*; and that these two Employments join'd together, might be dangerous Instruments in the Hands of a Subject that would be tempted to abuse them.

THIS Consideration check'd the King, and prevail'd over his Inclination; but what in State Policy he had refus'd to his Prime Minister for himself, he granted to his Brother-in-Law *Luft-Ali-Kan*, whom that Minister had propos'd to supply his Place: And notwithstanding all the Efforts of the contrary Cabal to divert the Blow, the *Athemat-Doulet* carry'd it in spite of them, and found an Advantage in it, which soon after cost him very dear.

THOUGH the Relation betwixt *Luft-Ali-Kan* and the Prime Minister, was enough to have render'd his Vote in his Favour suspicious, yet his very Enemies did him the Justice to own, that he was not unqualified for the important Employment with which he was honour'd. He was a Man of a good Head-piece, well turn'd either for Advice or Action; and though he had not yet any great Commands in the Armies, he was reckon'd pretty well vers'd in military Affairs. And indeed to his Misfortune he made too great a Discovery of his Talents, by the Manner in which he went to work, and as much alarm'd the Cabal which oppos'd him at Court, as he terrified the Rebels of *Candabar*.

BEFORE he undertook any Thing against the latter, he was resolv'd to open the Campaign with some signal Exploit, to give him a Reputation. The *Arabians* had for some Years past surpriz'd the Isle of *Mascate* in the Gulph of *Persia*, and had expell'd the *Persians* from thence, which was to their very great Prejudice. *Luft-Ali-Kan* propos'd, before he went upon any other Enterprize, to recover this Island; and as soon as he had assembled his Army, caus'd it to march that Way. As he wanted Ships to carry his Troops over to the Island which he was to attack, he concerted just Measures thereupon with the *Portuguese* of the *Indies*, who on the Payment of a certain Sum of Money, were to send their Transports for that Purpose. The *Portuguese* Fleet came in Time, but the Money being delay'd through the Intrigues of
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Luft-Ali-Kan's Enemies at Court, retir'd into its Harbours, leaving the unhappy General upon the Shore lamenting his Case, to find himself through the Treachery of those who ought to have had the Interest of the Government more at Heart, excluded from a Conquest, as infallible as it was important to the Welfare of the Kingdom.

W H I L E he was in vain reproaching and cursing the Authors of this Treachery, he heard that *Myrr-Magbmud* taking Advantage of his Distance, was advanc'd towards *Kirman*, and by Means of a Correspondence in the Place, had taken it.

T H I S famous Ringleader of the Rebels, who from the Advantage he gain'd last Year over the *Persian* Army had entertain'd very great Hopes, propos'd no less to himself than to push the War into the Heart of the Kingdom; and that he might be more at hand to carry it on there, he had cast his Eyes on the City of *Kirman*, to make it a Place of Arms, and took it, as has been said. This City, which, as it were, forms a Triangle with *Ispahan* and *Candabar*, lying South of both, not so far by one third from the former, as it is from the latter, though 'tis three hundred Leagues from *Candabar*, is the Capital of a Province of the same Name, which was the antient *Caramania*. Great Part of it is inhabited by the *Gaurs*, who pretend to be descended from the antient *Persians*, Worshippers of Fire, and being very uneasy under the Yoke of the modern *Persians*, who have often persecuted them, *Myrr-Magbmud* had no Difficulty to gain them; and it was by their Means that he took the Town.

N O T H I N G less than an Event of this Consequence could have deliver'd the *Persian* General from his Despair for the Affront that had been lately put upon him in sight of *Maschate*. As it was of Consequence not to leave the Rebels Time to fortify themselves in the Town which they had thus surpriz'd, *Luft-Ali-Kan* did not stay for his whole Army to attack them, but hastily forming a Body of the finest

and most active Troops he had, he went before, and fell upon *Maghmud*, whom he entirely routed; and after having drove him from *Kirman*, and taken his Baggage from him, he pursued him to *Candahar*, where he oblig'd him to shut himself up, very much ashamed of his entire Overthrow, and astonish'd to find there were Men still left in *Persia*, that were capable to give him Law.

THIS Victory caus'd the more Joy, and made the more Noise in all *Persia*, because it was the first Time that the *Aghvans* had been beaten since the Rebellion, and was Demonstration that it was not impossible to conquer them. Mean Time the General, who by *Myrr-Maghmud's* bold Attempt upon the City of *Kirman*, plainly saw the full Drift of this Rebel's Projects, and the Importance of that Place, made it his first Care to secure it against Insults, and all the Dangers of a second Attack. He plac'd a good Garrison in it, and fortified it so well, especially that Part call'd the Upper City, which is separated from the Lower, that in 1725 * it still held out against the *Aghvans*.

AFTER he had thus put all Things in Order, his Resentment, which the Necessity of his Affairs had only suspended, broke out with fresh Violence against those who had occasion'd his Disappointment in the Expedition to *Maschate*; and as he had no Justice to hope for from a King, whom they betray'd to his Face in such a Manner, that he either did not see it, or was afraid to shew that he saw it, he resolv'd to do himself Justice, and to do it with such a high Hand as should humble the Cabal of his Enemies, and convince them, that all the Protection they had at Court should not skreen them from his Vengeance.

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* This Circumstance proves that there is a Mistake in the Account inserted in the *Mercure* for November 1726. where 'tis said, that this City was taken by *Maghmud* in 1722. An Account of what pass'd at this Siege will be given hereafter.

IT was with this View that he brought his Army back to the Coasts of the *Persian* Gulph, where most of the great Men that he had a Design upon, had good Estates, and fine Seats; and on Pretence that his Troops, for want of their Pay, could not subsist otherwise, he quarter'd them in all their Houses, where they liv'd at Discretion. All Horses, Camels, Arms, and other Things fitting for a Soldier, were seiz'd, without any Formality, for the Use of the Army; not to reckon the great Contributions which they rais'd upon the Province in general, and of which the Noblemen, who had Estates there, paid their *Quota* as well as others.

BUT whatever Liberty he gave the Soldiers in this Respect, the Discipline of his Troops was kept up, and never perhaps was there an Army in *Persia* so well kept, or so spruce. After it had refresh'd it self by a long Stay, it had Orders to advance towards *Chiras*, a City which lies on the Road from the Gulph to *Candahar*, and where the general Rendezvous was appointed. All the Troops rendezvous'd there in *November* 1720. with several thousand Camels laden with all Sorts of Ammunition and Provisions for the greatest Part of the Campaign. 'Tis very probable, that this Army, as it was then dispos'd, furnish'd with all Things in Abundance, embolden'd by its late Successes, and conducted by a wise and resolute General, under whom it had newly learn'd to conquer, would soon have reduc'd the *Aghvans* to Reason, if a great Disorder at Court, owing to the basest Intrigue, had not ruin'd all those great Hopes, just as they were ready to be consummated.

LUST-ALI-KAN had a Mind to be reveng'd on the Great Men of the Court; and, to his Misfortune, he had succeeded too well in it. Those Noblemen being incens'd against him, and more nettled at the Disdain with which he had treated them in ravaging their Lands, than all the Losses they had sustained there;

being alarmed, moreover, at the Credit which the Victory he had gain'd over the *Aghevans* had acquired him with the King, they did not doubt but if he succeeded in his Expedition, subdued the Rebels, and suppressed the Rebellion, a Service of that Importance would render him too powerful at Court, and that *Athemmat-Doulet*, his Brother-in-Law, and he, having all the King's Confidence, and all the Authority of the Government to his own Share, exclusive of any other Person, would improve their Advantage to oppress and ruin them.

THEY saw no other Remedy but to prevent it by ruining himself: And though they could not do it without overthrowing the Hopes of the speedy Reduction of *Candahar*, and of pacifying that rebellious Frontier; yet the Consideration of their private Interest prevailed before the most important Interest of the State; and they chose to venture the Loss of All, than not to disarm a General, who could not triumph over the Enemies of the Kingdom, without crushing them in Pieces by his Triumph.

As the two opposite Cabals at Court were equally interested to ruin a Man, whose Authority and Power must be equally burthensome and prejudicial to them, if he brought his Designs to pass, they united, and joined both against him. But imagining that it would not be possible for them to succeed in any Undertaking against him, as long as *Athemmat-Doulet*, his Brother-in-Law, was in Place, and foreseeing that this Minister, in whom the King had all Manner of Confidence, and to whom, that he might the more quietly enjoy the Delights of his Haram, he abandoned the Care and Incumbrance of all Affairs, would not fail to ward off the Blows that should be aimed at his Brother-in-Law, they resolved to destroy him first; and they succeeded by a very ill concerted Piece of Management, with which no other Prince but *Schah-Hussein*, would have been so easily gull'd.

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AMONG the Officers, who had most Access to the Person of the King, there were two especially who, by the Nature of their Service, were his most intimate Confidants and Familiars. The one was his Moullah, or Director of his Conscience, and the other his chief Physician. These were the two Officers that they employ'd to give the *Athemat-Doulet* the mortal Blow; and because that in order to surprize the King into it, 'twas unavoidably necessary to choose a Time when he had neither Leisure nor Conveniency to take Advice of any but the Conspirators, they pitched upon that Time of the Night for the Execution of their Design, when they might have him most at their Discretion.

EVERY Thing was quiet in the King's Apartment, and there was a profound Silence. The King himself was actually asleep at one End of his Palace, when he was suddenly awaked by two Officers coming in with affrighted Looks, who casting their Turbans on the Ground, as a Token of Sorrow, said to the King, " That though they were not ignorant that it was against the Rules to dare to disturb his Repose, and to enter his Majesty's Bed-Chamber without his Leave, especially during so sacred a Time; yet the imminent Danger with which they saw him threaten'd, did not suffer them to have Regard to the usual Formalities; that his Life and Crown were at stake; which now was the Time to secure against the Attempts of the *Athemat-Doulet*, who had fixed on that very Night for the Execution of his Parricide: That the said Prime Minister, in Concert with his Brother-in-Law the General of the Army, had vow'd the Death of his Majesty, and the Extinction of the Royal Family: That while the latter was to go and make himself Master of *Ispahan* with his Army, and to invest the King's Palace, so that no Prince of the Royal Family might escape, the *Athemat-Doulet* was to seize the King himself, with the Assistance of three thousand

" Kurdes,

“ *Kurdes*, which were to be brought to him that very Night by a Prince of that Nation, for whom he had sent an express Order, sealed with his Seal of First Minister.”

THE King was in immediate Consternation at the Greatness and Nearness of the Danger, especially when the two Eunuchs put into his Hands a Proof of the Prime Minister's Correspondence with the *Kurdes*. This was the very Order sent to the Prince of the *Kurdes*, and sealed with the Seal of the *Athemat-Doulet*. This Piece formed a Presumption of the greater Importance, because the Manner of Installing an *Athemat-Doulet* in *Persia*, is by putting the Seal of his Office about his Neck, which is never taken off till he dies, or is forced to resign it.

FEAR realizes all Appearances, and renders every Thing credible to those who are susceptible of it. The King had no sooner cast his Eyes upon the Seal, which he thought he knew, but he fancied himself undone, and fainted away. As soon as he was a little recovered, a Council was hastily formed of the most trusty Eunuchs and Courtiers, who had all an Understanding with the two Informers. The Consultation was short, and the Result of it was, that the King sending for the *Corschi-Bachi*, or General of the *Corschis* ordered him to take his Guards, and others along with him, to break open the House of the *Athemat-Doulet*, and to bring him his Head.

THIS Prime Minister who did not dream of what was hatching against him, was quiet in his Wives Apartment, when the *Corschi-Bachi* came to his House with an armed Force, and the Air of a Man that expected to find Resistance. The Minister was astonished at such a Visit, at so unseasonable an Hour, but much more when he saw himself hand-cuffed by that Officer's Order, who meeting with no Opposition in the Execution of his Commands, had him only carried to his House, without offering any Violence. For, though it was the King's Order to cut off his Head; yet it being represented to him, that in Case he met

met with no Resistance from him, it would not be proper to put him to Death, and that the King did not insist on it, the Officer only secured his Person.

NEVERTHELESS he was not beholden so much for the Preservation of his Life to the Compassion of his Enemies, as to their Avarice; for, as he had immense Riches, of which those who had ruined him hoped to share in the Forfeiture, they were very glad to save his Life, that under Pretence of extorting a Confession from him, by Torments, of the Secret of the pretended Conspiracy, they might force him to discover where his Treasures were. As soon as he was arrived in the House of the *Corschi-Bachi*, the first Thing they did, was to pluck out his Eyes, as is the Practice in *Persia*, with regard to Persons guilty of High-Treason, whose Lives they have a Mind to spare. Then they examin'd him by Torture, as to the Particulars of his great Estate. He made no Scruple to declare all that he had, which in Gold, precious Furniture, and Jewels, amounted to 900000 Tomans, or four Millions and a Half Sterling.

THE very Moment that the *Athemat-Doulet* was arrested, several Couriers were dispatch'd to arrest not only the General *Luft-Ali-Kan*, but every one of the Prime Minister's Kindred, Friends, or Creatures, in the Country; for, as to those at Court, they were secured immediately. The Man that they had the greatest Desire to secure, and who was the hardest to take, was the General, who was actually in the Neighbourhood of *Chiras* at the Head of an Army, which was entirely devoted to him; and who knows to what Extremities he might have pushed Matters against the Court, had he been then informed how unjustly his Brother-in-Law had been treated, and of the Usage which was designed with the same Injustice for himself? But all possible Precautions were taken to prevent it: For this End they chose the only Man at Court that was capable of making the greatest Dispatch, and gave him secret a Commission for the Governor of *Chiras*.

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The King ordered him to find Means under some Pretence or other to wheedle the General to his Lodgings, and there to arrest him with as little Noise, as possible, and send him under a good Guard to *Ispahan*, bound Hand and Foot. As neither the General, nor the other Friends and Kindred of the Prime Minister mistrusted any Thing, all Orders sent against them had their Effect, and there was not one that thought of escaping.

ALL the Measures that were taken that Night, as well for arresting the *Athemat-Doulet*, as for dispatching the Couriers that were sent to all Parts, could not be long a Secret in so small a Town as *Tebran*, where the King then was. The Discovery of a great Conspiracy against the Life of the Prince, the Arrest of the Prime Minister, who was said to be at the Head of it, the Cry that three thousand *Kurdes* were coming to surprize and carry off the King; besides the Addition which every body made of his own Head to those different Reports; all this was spread through the whole Town in a trice; and was so alarming to all the People, that they stood under Arms all Night.

BUT when Day-Light appear'd, and the King found there was no Stir; that there was no Talk of the March of three thousand *Kurdes*, nor of that of the Army from *Chiras* toward *Ispahan*; and when he learn'd not only by the Scouts he had sent Abroad on all Sides, to get Intelligence, but by those who arrived from different Quarters of the Town, that every thing was quiet Abroad, he began to mistrust that he had been imposed upon, and was afraid he had been too hasty with regard to his Prime Minister. He had always loved and esteemed him; he looked upon him as the ablest Man in the Kingdom, and the most fit for the Employment he had born, and he could not but own he had received considerable Services from him; so that if it should happen that he was not guilty, as he quickly began to suspect he was not, he was fully sensible that his Conscience would reproach him
all

all his Life long for his unjust and barbarous Treatment of him. These first Suspicions, and the Resentment he entertained, had such an Impression upon him, that they made him talk with that Air of Authority, which he had not used to speak in, to such of his Officers as had any Share of his Confidence. He sent for his chief Physician *Hekim-Bafzy*, one of the two Informers, and with a very severe Tone, and stern Countenance bid him take Care, that the Wounds they had made in the *Athemat-Doulet*, by plucking out his Eyes, did not endanger his Life, which if it should miscarry, he might depend upon it his should answer for it. He said, moreover, that as soon as this Minister was recovered, he would hear him, in order to condemn him if guilty, or to acquit him if innocent. It would have been expected of another King, that he should have added, *or to punish his Accusers, if they had accused him falsely* : But it was a great deal for so weak a Prince as *Schah-Hussein*, to venture to give Way to the Justification of a Man whom his Confidants had condemned.

THE severe Tone with which the King talked, perhaps the first Time in all his Life, had its Effect. So much Care was taken of the Wounds of the *Athemat-Doulet*, that his Life was in no Manner of Danger ; and as soon as he was in a Condition to appear, the King was willing to have his Affair examined in a due Course of Law, as he declared it should. I shall now give an Account of this Hearing, which I fancy will not displease the Reader : Though it were not natural for Persons to be concerned for the Vindication of an illustrious Man, unjustly oppressed, yet a brief Account of the Things objected to him, and of his Answer, cannot but be useful, because of the Knowledge which it may give of the Manners, Interests, Intrigues, and Conduct of the great Lords of *Persia*, during the last Years of *Schah-Hussein's* Reign.

THE

THE King having, therefore, fixed a Day to hear the Person accused in his own Defence, he appeared in an Assembly, consisting of all the Ministers and great Officers of the Court, in which the King himself was pleased to preside. They began with the Complaints against him, which were reduced to eight principal Articles.

I. 'T W A S pretended that one Day, as he was in the City of *Kom*, at the Tomb of *Schah-Solyman*, (Father of *Schah-Husseïn*,) who formerly put to Death the Prime Minister's Father, he let fall this Expression, *A Time may come when I shall revenge the Death of my Father, by that of thy Son and his whole Family.* This Charge was only founded upon the Report of one of the *Athemat-Doulet's* Valets de Chambre.

II. HE was asked, that since he always wore the Seal of his Office about his Neck, how it came to pass that the Order, which was said to have been sent to bring the *Kurdes*, was sealed with that Seal, if he had not a Hand in it?

III. HE was charged with having determined all Affairs, like as if he had been absolute Sovereign, and without taking Advice of the Council or the other Ministers.

IV. IT was thrown into his Charge, that his Orders were more respected in the Provinces than those of the King himself.

V. THE Alliances he had made with great Families, by marrying his Daughters and Nieces to the greatest Lords of the Kingdom, in order to form a powerful Party, was number'd among his Crimes.

VI. IT was charged upon him as a greater Crime than all this, not only that he was of the Sect of the *Sunni*, but also that through his Attachment to that Sect, he under-hand favoured the *Lesgians*, who were of the same Religion, and Enemies to the Government. To prove this, a Letter was produced under his own Hand, whereby he gave the *Lesgians* to under-stand

stand that they might safely extend their Ravages, as far as they pleased, provided they did not advance to *Erivan*, which he desired they would spare, because he that commanded there was his Nephew.

VII. HE was reproached for having trusted the Government of the Provinces in the Hands of some of his Nephews, who were but Children.

VIII. NOTICE was taken of his great Wealth, which, said they, was more suitable to the Treasure of a King than of a private Man ; and it was pretended that he could not be so rich without being dishonest.

TO these Grievances which affected him personally, some others were added, relating to his Brother-in-Law ; for which they expected he should be responsible, on Pretence that the said General had done nothing but in Concert with him, both with regard to the Expedition to *Mascat*, in which 'twas pretended he only fail'd, because of a secret Understanding with the Commanders of the *Portuguese* Fleet ; and also with regard to the Estates of the Court Lords, whom he had ravaged in that Country. Lastly, it was demanded for what Reason the General had marched an Army that was design'd against *Candabar*, towards *Isfahan* ; and why, instead of going to besiege *Magbmud* in *Candabar*, after his Defeat, he chose rather to employ his Troops in plundering the Provinces of the Kingdom.

THESE were the most considerate Grievances which were exhibited against a Prime Minister, who had for a long time governed the State to the King's Satisfaction, and with a Fidelity never suspected. The Prince calling upon him to answer if he had any thing to say in his own Justification, he spoke with more Boldness than the Informers had assumed in accusing him ; and made so little an Account of Life, thinking himself not obliged for the Time to come to use any great Caution in what he said to any Person whatsoever,

ever, that he began with complaining to the King of the King himself, who having condemned him without a Hearing, made the Proof of his Innocence very unnecessary; because, how clear soever he was in his own Conscience, it was not in his Majesty's Power to restore him to that Sight, of which he had been deprived by too rash a Sentence; adding, that Life was only a Burden to him now; and that he should take it as a Favour, if the King would sacrifice even that to the Passion of his Enemies who thirsted insatiably for his Blood. Then, with the utmost Modesty, though with a noble Confidence, he reckon'd up the Services which his Ancestors and he had performed to the Crown; and, after having bemoan'd himself on the unhappy Situation to which he was reduced by Way of Reward, and on the Insignificancy of a Defence, which was requir'd of him too late, he descended into the Particulars of the Grievances, and answered every thing that had been alledged against him, Article by Article.

As to the First, therefore, he said, " That the Evidence of a rascally Footman, hir'd for ready Money to ruin his Master, was not to be admitted against such a Man as he; especially in a Fact to which he was the only Witness sworn, and of which he could not give any Proof." Then he required that the Wretch might be put to the Torture to compel him to declare, who had set him at Work to raise that Calumny.

As to the Second he owned, " That the Stamp of his Seal which was found upon the pretended Order sent to the Commander of the *Kurdes*, might be of some Weight against him, if it was not very manifest that there were Forgers in *Persia*; but that it being notorious that there was a great Number of them so well vers'd in their Calling, that of two Pieces, one of which lawful, and the other counterfeit, it was a hard Matter to distinguish which

" was

“ was the Right ; so silent a Testimony as that could
 “ be of no Weight, if it was not accompanied and
 “ corroborated with other Tokens.” He was not
 content with this general Answer ; and as this was the
 only Grievance that was really material to his Cause,
 and that which had been the unhappy Pretext of his
 Condemnation and Calamity, he entered into such par-
 ticular Discussions of it, as plainly discovered the
 Falshood and Folly of the Artifice that was contriv’d
 to ruin him.

“ F O R, said he, if the pretended Conspiracy was
 “ to break out that very same Night that I was arrest-
 “ ed, the Letter sent to call the three thousand *Kurdes*
 “ must have been dispatched several Days before. It
 “ required twelve Days March for the three thousand
 “ Men to come hither ; and had the Courier made
 “ never so much Haste, it would have taken him up
 “ several Days to carry it : Where, then, was this
 “ fatal Letter all the Time, of which the King him-
 “ self knew nothing till the Moment that ’twas sup-
 “ posed the *Kurdes* were to arrive ? Where was this
 “ Letter found ? and when was it intercepted ? Was
 “ it intercepted upon the Road before it reached the
 “ *Kurde* ? In this Case it must have been in Custody se-
 “ veral Days before that which was fix’d on for the
 “ Execution of the Project. Who was it found up-
 “ on ? from whom was it taken ? and who was the
 “ Bearer of it ? If it came to the Hands of the *Kurde*,
 “ how did it find its Way back again ? did he send it
 “ back ? Let him say so then. Why don’t they pro-
 “ duce his Evidence ? For in an Affair of such Con-
 “ sequence, wherein the Life of the King was at
 “ Stake, such a Discovery cannot but redound to his
 “ Honour. But why should I make my Application
 “ to a Foreigner of a treacherous Nation, who is not
 “ to be depended upon, when my own Brother-in-
 “ Law was at the Head of an Army twenty Days
 “ March from hence, especially since ’tis pretended
 “ that he was my Accomplice ? The *Kurde* was to
 N “ bring

“ bring me but three thousand Men, and my Brother-
 “ in-Law was able to bring or send me ten thousand.
 “ What strict Engagement was I ever known to have
 “ with this Foreigner, that I should trust to him, ra-
 “ ther than to my Brother-in-Law? What Precau-
 “ tions have I taken not to be betray’d? What Mea-
 “ sures for my own Safety? What is our Treaty?
 “ what our Conventions? And if he was able to sur-
 “ prize the King with his three thousand Men, why
 “ should he do it more for my Profit than his own?
 “ What Forces had I to give Law to him? But how
 “ can it be pretended that I had any Hopes of being
 “ able to surprize the King with three thousand Men,
 “ when I saw that he was attended with a Guard five
 “ times stronger? From whence comes it that I should
 “ defer the Enterprize till the King was secure in a
 “ Town, which, different from most of the other
 “ *Persian* Towns, is inclosed with strong Walls; and
 “ which must necessarily have been besieged with an
 “ Army of three thousand Men against a Garrison of
 “ fifteen thousand? In short, if I had been such a
 “ Wretch, as to have formed the foul and horrid
 “ Conspiracy with which I am charged, how could I
 “ be so silly, so blind, as to keep at home without
 “ any Guard but my common Servants, that very
 “ Night too that I was just ready to put it in Execu-
 “ tion? The Solitude and Security in which I was
 “ found in my own Apartment at so critical a Juncture
 “ as that must be, is the best Thing I can offer in my
 “ Vindication upon this material Article.”

As to the Third Head, he called the King himself
 to witness, whether it was not true, that his Majesty
 had not totally referr’d the Dispatch of his ordinary
 Affairs to his Conduct; that as to extraordinary Affairs,
 such as Negotiations and Things of this Nature, he
 never meddled with them, but when his Majesty was
 pleas’d to refer them to him by a particular Commissi-
 on; that besides, as to his ministerial Conduct, if he
 did not give himself much Trouble to take the Advice

of the Eunuchs, or of the other Courtiers, who complain'd of him, he was in the right not to do it, and that he did not think it expedient to consult People that he knew were too much his Enemies to give him good Counsel, and too much wedded to their own private Interest to give any that was conducive to the Welfare of the Publick.

As to the Fourth Article he said, that if his Orders were better executed in the Country than those that proceeded immediately from the King himself, he was not to blame for it, but the Eunuchs and the other Courtiers, who were always ready to protect the vilest of Causes, and who by revoking the King's Orders when they pleas'd, as often as they were brib'd by Presents, had enervated all the Force of them, whereas it was otherwise with his Orders, which it was well known, no Consideration of Credit or Interest could ever prevail with him to revoke.

As to the Fifth he said, that if he had married his Daughters and Neices into great Families, he had done no more than what became his Birth and Rank; and that he did not believe it was criminal for a Man of his Quality, who was of one of the oldest Families of the Kingdom, and originally descended from the *Lesgian* Kings, to be cautious of degrading himself, by contracting an Alliance with the Tools and Footmen of Eunuchs.

As to the Sixth Article he said, that since he was descended, as above, from the *Lesgian* Kings, it was no extraordinary Thing that he should be of the same Sect with his Countrymen, and all his Ancestors, as well as the *Turks*; that he never dissembled it; and that as there were entire Provinces in *Persia* who were tolerated in that Religion by the Kings, he did not see upon what Foundation they could make it a Crime in him, so long as it did not put him upon any Measures contrary to the King's Service. Then he demanded, "Whether the Incurfions which the *Lesgians* had lately made into the Provinces of the Kingdom was

“ such a strange Thing, that they ought to be imput-
 “ ted to him? and whether they were People so paci-
 “ fick, and such Friends to Tranquillity, that they
 “ stood in need of Solicitations to come and plunder
 “ their Neighbours. Is it pretended, continues he,
 “ that they never made any Incurfions upon our Lands,
 “ but since I came into the Ministry, when they have
 “ formerly been so troublesome, that his Majesty’s Pre-
 “ decessors have been under the Necessity of having
 “ standing Armies upon their Frontier to keep them
 “ in Awe? If any one, says he, is to blame for these
 “ Ravages, ’tis not I, but ’tis owing to the Avarice
 “ of such as, by putting in their own Pockets the Pen-
 “ sions formerly paid to those People to keep them in
 “ their Allegiance, have forced them to be their own
 “ Pay-Masters, by plundering the Provinces, and to
 “ make up by their Incurfions the Deficiency of the
 “ Subsidies, of which they have been disappointed.”

After this he took Notice, “ That when the King
 “ gave him a special Commission to provide a Remedy
 “ for this Disorder, he had put at the Head of the
 “ Troops he sent against the *Lesgians* the only one of
 “ all his Nephews whom he had most Confidence in,
 “ and whom he had even named in his Will for his
 “ Successor in his Office, and Heir to his Estate; that
 “ every Body knew the melancholy Issue of that Ex-
 “ pedition, wherein his Nephew fell a Sacrifice to
 “ the *Lesgians*.” Whereupon he demanded, “ Whe-
 “ ther his Enemies had not also some Letter of his to
 “ produce, whereby he had solicited those *Barbarians*
 “ to murder that Nephew who was so dear to him.”

WHAT the Minister had said of those diverted
 Subsidies, which had given Occasion to the Incur-
 sions of the *Lesgians*, was of the more Weight, be-
 cause an Embassy was newly arrived at Court from one
 of the petty Kings of that Nation, to whom the
 others had applied to mediate an Accommodation be-
 tween them and *Persia*. He was the more proper Per-
 son for it, because he had no Hand in their Excursions,

but

but had always kept up a good Understanding with the *Persians*. For their own Part, the Thing which obliged them to have Recourse to pacifick Measures, was the Fear of an Incurfion from the Prince of *Georgia*, of which we fhall take Notice in its Place. The Ambaffador of *Szam Kal*, which was the Name of the petty King that was concerned for them, made ufe of no other Argument to excufe their Incurfions, but the Neceffity they were under of making them for their Subfiftence, after their Subfides were ftopped; for it was under the Name and Title of auxiliary Troops that the Kings of *Persia* had ufed to pay them certain Penfions, though in Truth they only pay'd them as a Sort of Tribute, by which they purchafed the Peace and Security of their Subjects againft the Enterprizes of thofe *Barbarians*. Thefe Subfides which amounted to 1700 Tomans, or 8500 Pounds Sterling, had not been paid for many Years, the Funds thereof being alienated by the Avarice of fome Favourites or Governors of Provinces, who had laid their Hands on them. They demanded, therefore, that the Payment of them might be renewed for the future, and that an Amnefty might be granted them for what had paffed; on which Condition they not only promifed to abftain from their ordinary Excurfions, and to live in Terms of inviolable Fidelity, but they alfo offered to employ their Arms in Favour of *Persia* againft the *Aghevans*. We fhall have an Opportunity to give an Account hereafter of what was the Effect of this Negotiation; 'twas fufficient for the Prefent, to mention fo much of it only as was neceffary to juftify what the *Athemat-Doulet* had offered in his Defence.

As to the Seventh Article he owns, that the King at his Request had given the Governments of the Province to two of his Nephews, who were as yet but Children; that he was entirely obliged to the Royal Goodnefs for it; but that his Majefty having done others the fame Favour, he did not fee why they fhould charge it as a Crime upon him more than them; that

besides they knew well enough that such Precaution was taken to plant about those young Governors wise and able Men, who under the Name of Lieutenants or Intendants, ordered all Affairs, that the Provinces received no Prejudice by them.

As to the Eighth relating to his great Estate, he answered, that Part of it was Patrimony, Part of it what fell to him from his Brothers, Part of it the Forfeitures which the King had granted him, and Part of it was owing also to his good Conduct and Oeconomy, without wronging any Body. Then falling unmercifully upon the insatiable Avarice of the Eunuchs, “ However, said he, supposing I had amassed all this
“ Wealth, I had Nephews and Daughters to take
“ Care of ; but I would fain know who those Eunuchs lay up Treasures for, that have such immense
“ Estates ? unless they don’t care to be told of those
“ Camels laden with Gold and Silver, which they
“ send every Year to *Mecca* and *Medina*, which is contrary to the Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom, where the same has been expressly prohibited
“ since the Time of *Schah-Abas* the Great, as they
“ cannot be ignorant.

AFTER having thus vindicated himself, as to what concerned him personally, he says, “ That every one being chargeable with his own Actions, he
“ might be excused from entering into a Discussion of
“ Facts relating to his Brother-in-Law, whose Conduct had been not only so unblameable, but also so
“ wise, happy, and advantageous to the Kingdom,
“ that he was ready to be his Surety : That as to *Mascate* he would refer himself to what the Commissioner of the *Portuguese* Fleet should say, who was
“ actually at his Court ; and that he would inform
“ them, that the Fleet only retired without transporting the Troops at *Mascate*, because the Sum which
“ the King had promised by his Ambassador at *Goa*
“ was not paid.”

FOR

FOR the Understanding of this Fact, the Reader should know, that when *Schah-Abas* the Great took *Ormuz* from the *Portuguese*, by the Help of an *English* Fleet, he made Peace with the *Portuguese*, who consented to leave him in Possession of that Island for Half the Produce of the Customs, which was afterwards valued at a certain Sum *per Ann.* But, by the Disorder that happen'd in Affairs during the whole Reign of *Schah-Hussain*, when the Finances were at the Discretion of the Eunuchs and Favourites, those Sums had not been paid; the Consequence of which was, that the *Portuguese* taking Advantage of the Necessity the *Persians* were under for their Fleet in the Expedition to *Mascat*, stipulated with the Ambassador whom the King of *Persia* had at *Goa*, that before the Troops were transported to *Mascat*, a certain Sum should be paid them, in Part of the Arrears due to them; which Sum having fail'd in the Manner that we have said, the Fleet retir'd in Disgust, not without Complaint of the Dishonesty of the Ministers of the Court of *Persia*. But what could not but exasperate all honest Men more than all, was, to see that the very Man, who to ruin the Expedition to *Mascat*, out of spite to the Prime Minister and his Brother-in-Law, had stopped the Payment of the Money, should have the Front to charge the Miscarriage of the Enterprize on them two.

HE owned, that it was through his Advice that the General, after the Defeat of *Magbmud*, returned with his Troops towards the *Persian* Gulph; that, as to the Spoil which he had made on the Lands of several of the Nobility, 'tis possible that he was provoked because he missed the taking of *Mascat* for want of the Sums promised to the *Portuguese*; but 'tis certain that he was compell'd to it on the other hand, by the Necessity of the War, and to keep the other Provinces in Awe. As to the March of the Army towards *Chiras*, he said, " That his Brother did no more in that than

" what became a skilful General, who was willing to

“ make sure of the Success of his Expedition : That
 “ having considered that *Kostrow-Kan*, the Prince of
 “ *Georgia*, only miscarried in his, because he came too
 “ late to *Candabar*, and not till Harvest was gathered
 “ in, he was not willing to be subject to the same In-
 “ conveniency : That, as the Harvest did not come
 “ on at *Candabar* till towards the End of *May*, he had
 “ concerted his Measures to be there before that time ;
 “ that he had therefore proposed to surprize the Re-
 “ bels by passing over the Deserts between *Chiras* and
 “ *Candabar* ; that it was his View also, by this pain-
 “ ful March, and by the Severity of a more rigorous
 “ Climate, to inure the soft and effeminate *Persians* to
 “ Fatigue : But that to the End that the Army might
 “ want no Provisions, neither in the March, nor du-
 “ ring the Campaign, he had amassed a vast Store,
 “ with which he had laden several thousand Camels ;
 “ that he (the *Athemat-Doulet* himself) had sent him
 “ three thousand Loads of Rice at his own Expence.
 “ Now to what Purpose, says he, could he lay up
 “ such vast Stores of Provisions, which could not be
 “ done without raising the Murmurs of the People,
 “ if the Design had been to carry the Army to *Ispahan*,
 “ by passing through Provinces where there could not
 “ fail to be Provisions in Abundance ? Was it not a
 “ hopeful Way to get the Favour of the People in the
 “ Usurpation of the Crown, to exasperate them by
 “ Contributions, which how necessary soever, are
 “ always more or less disagreeable to the People, and
 “ cannot fail of incensing them against those who or-
 “ der them.”

As to the Accusation against his Brother-in-Law,
 that he did not march to besiege *Maghmud* in *Candabar*,
 after his Victory, “ None, said he, but a meer No-
 “ vice and Ignoramus in military Affairs would cast it
 “ in his Teeth. Don’t they know that he left the
 “ Bulk of his Army by the Side of the Gulph, when
 “ he went to surprize the Rebels at *Kirman* ? and
 “ would they have had him gone with the lesser Part

“ of

“ of his Troops, which were already harrassed by pursuing *Maghmud* across the Deserts, to besiege him, after the Harvest was over, in a City where there was plenty of every Thing, and twice the Number of Men to defend it, that he would have had to attack it? The next Crime they will lay to his Charge will be, that after so many bloody Defeats, so many compleat Routs, and, after the Loss of so many great Captains killed by the *Aghvans*, he should dare to be the first to beat and put them to Flight.

T H U S did this unfortunate Minister vindicate himself and his Brother-in-Law; and though he did it with more Courage and Pride, than the present Situation of his Affairs seemed to comport with, the King, instead of being offended with him, could not forbear weeping at the Misfortune of a Man who had been always dear to him, and to whom he had, by his rash Credulity, done more Injury than he could ever repair.

T H E Hearts of his very Enemies relented, as it were in spite of them, to see the sad and cruel State to which he was reduced, after a long Series of uninterrupted Prosperity; and they could not refuse to pity the great Humiliation and Disgrace of a first Minister, whose high Situation and Fortune they had so long envy'd.

E V E R Y Body did him Justice in their Hearts, and the King more than any: But how could they acquit him, though they knew him so innocent and unblameable, without condemning themselves? It was, therefore, unavoidable for him to be the Victim of that unhappy Maxim which has so much prevail'd in the Courts of Princes, and which makes it indecent for Kings, who are impos'd upon every Day, to own, even after the Injustice is manifest, that they were deceived. Moreover, what other Course could the King take with the Man who had the Key of all the Secrets of State; and who, after the cruel Outrage

com-

committed against him, might think himself authorized to deceive him? How did they know but he might be tempted to put the Plots in Execution, for which he was punish'd before-hand? And what had they not to fear from a Man of his Genius, Capacity, and Courage, if once he gave Way to his Resentments, and was at Liberty to act?

STATE Policy, therefore, required that he should pass for a criminal, both because he had been already treated as such, and because he might become so. Therefore, though the King was convinced of his Innocence, though he was perswaded, that blind as he was, he saw more clearly into Affairs than all the Ministers and Confidants that he had left; and that he was even better qualified than any of them to be first Minister; yet as he could not thoroughly confide for the Time to come in the Advice of a Man, whom he had treated too ill ever to trust him, he resolved to put him out of his Way. But though he was under that Necessity to keep a strict Guard upon a Man to whom it might be dangerous to grant his full Liberty, he endeavoured, however, to make his Captivity the more tolerable, by giving him the Castle of *Chiras* for his Prison with a very great Pension. My Memoirs do not specify how rich it was, but if we may be allow'd to form a Judgment from the Conduct of *Schab-Solyman*, Father of *Schab-Hussein*, to the two chief Physicians of the King his Father, whom, though he might have justly condemned to Death, he chose to confine in such a Prison as this for their Lives, and gave them 20000 Crowns Pension, 'tis reasonable to suppose that *Schab-Hussein* granted one much more considerable to a Prime Minister, who had always been his Favourite, and to whom he endeavoured by all the good Usage, which was consistent with State Policy, to make amends, as far as possible, for the irreparable Injury he had done him. He also made it his Business to comfort him by setting before his Eyes, the unavoidable Necessity of
Destiny

Destiny which makes, as it were, an Article of Faith in the Mahometan Religion; so that it may be said, that at the same time that he confined him to a Prison as a Criminal, every Step he took towards him, could not but convince the whole Court, that in his Heart he thought him innocent. This Minister was, therefore, conducted to *Chiras*, where he lived till *Maghmud* had taken *Ispahan*, when he was poisoned, as some say, for fear lest the Usurper should carry him off, and make use of his Counsels; or perhaps, as others say, he broke his Heart at the Sight of his own Personal Misfortunes, and the Desolation of his Country. Which Way soever he died, 'tis certain that he lost his Life soon after *Schah-Hussein* lost the Crown; and that if in the General Calamity of the Kingdom, he had any Personal Resentment on his own Account, it must be to find himself sweetly revenged by the Ruin of a Master, who only fell from the Throne, because he had deprived himself of the Assistance of the Minister that was most able to maintain him upon it. He was the Man in all *Persia* that made the best Appearance, and had the greatest Talents. He loved all *Europeans* in general, but particularly the *French*, to whom he endeavoured to procure the Preference in Trade to all the other *European* Factories: And this he did, not only out of an Inclination to them, but much more from a Reason of State, having a Notion that the too great Privileges which *Schah-Abas* had granted to those Companies were prejudicial to the Kingdom; and that the Government could only gain by the Diminution and Decay of their Trade. He was a Man of very regular Management in his Affairs, and rather generous than stingy in the Use of his great Wealth, which he ow'd rather to his good Conduct and Oeconomy, than to Violence and Injustice. The only Reproach which he seems to deserve was, for having too much exasperated *Myrr-Weis* against the Prince *Georgi-Kan* Governor of *Candabar*, whose Death may in one Sense be imputed to him. The
Death

Death of the Prince *Kostrow-Kan*, the latter's Nephew, and the Defeat of his Army, may also be ascrib'd to the Measures which this Minister made use of to thwart an Expedition, which it was his Interest to hinder the Prince from succeeding in. For this, indeed, how unjust soever his Condemnation and Disgrace were on the Part of the King his Master, and his Enemies, 'twas very just on the Part of Providence, which in the Dispensation of its Justice to Mankind generally makes use of the Injustice of some, to punish the Injustice of others.

THE same Political Maxim which had forced the King to sacrifice his Minister, as innocent as he knew him to be, obliged him to dissemble his Designs to the two Informers, who had so basely imposed on him. They urg'd in Excuse the extraordinary Zeal with which they had been transported upon an Occasion wherein they thought the King's Life in peril. 'Tis very true that if this Prince had pleased, as he might easily have done, and as the *Athemat-Doulet* had hinted to him, to have traced that fatal Letter, which had been made use of to deceive him, he would soon have found, that a Zeal for his Person was a mere Pretence, in an Intrigue, where the only Plot was that which was formed against his Minister; but he thought it was dangerous for him to dive into a Mystery, where he was afraid of finding Criminals whose Number and Weight might have crush'd him: Being so abandon'd to his Eunuchs, that they had his Life in their Hands, he chose rather to hush the Affair than, by seeming to mistrust them, to create a Jealousy in them, of which he might be a Victim. Therefore he accepted of the Excuses made by the two Authors of the Calumny; so that, Thanks to the Maxim which was always observed in Favour of Informers, *viz. That to require too much Circumspection of them, by making them answerable for the Facts which they relate, would be to defeat the Ends of their Inquiry and Vigilance; and that no Body hereafter would venture to give Advice to Princes*

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in a real Danger, if a Man must be found guilty for having taken a false Alarm, they came off with a Repri-mand, in which tho' their Mistake was blamed, their Attention and Zeal was commended.

BUT nothing was a better Demonstration how much they were convinced of the First Minister's Innocence, than the Carriage towards all those who under the Denomination of Kindred, Friends, or Creatures, were arrested with him, and involved in his Disgrace. All were set at Liberty, and sent home without any other Examination; and if any were detain'd at *Ispahan*, it was only from a necessary Precaution against what a just Resentment might put them upon attempting in the Country. All in general were restor'd to their Estates, but as it might not be safe to trust the Guard of the Provinces to Persons that had been so ill used, those who had been removed from their Governments were not restored, except a small Number, who, by Reason of the Securities they gave of their Fidelity, or by the good Offices of their Friends, had Credit enough to be fully reinstated in their Posts.

BUT though the Persecution against those who adhered to the Prime Minister was at first so general, yet two were excepted out of it, who were very nearly related to him in Quality of his Sons-in-Law. They were two Noblemen of the Family of the Princes of *Georgia*. The one was called *Kullar-Aghasi*, Brother to him who actually held the Principality of *Georgia*; and the other was *Machmet-Kuli-Kan*, Prince of *Kachet* in the same *Georgia*. They were both at Court in the Time of the Disgrace of the *Athemat-Doulet*, their Father-in-Law; but their Fidelity to the King and the Government was so established, that they were secured against all Manner of Suspicion. Therefore while those who had any particular Relation with their Father-in-Law were imprisoned every where, neither their Persons nor Estates were touch'd. And though the Estates of the Prime Minister were forfeited,

feited, they had so much Regard for the Sons-in-Law, that they sequestered the Part which was to come to them for their Wives Dowry, which was all paid them.

As to the General *Lust-Ali-Kan*, Brother-in-Law to the *Athemat-Doulet*, who was taken up at *Chiras*, as we have observed; though at the Time that he was brought to Court, the Prejudices on Account of the pretended Conspiracy were vanished, yet he was not treated near so kindly as that Minister's two Sons-in-Law: But then he was used not so much like a Criminal, as like a Man they were afraid would become so, and whom they would, therefore, disable from being such. Indeed they deprived him, with some Colour of Justice, of all that he had plundered in the Province during his last Campaign; but they did not touch his Estate of Inheritance, which was reserved entire to his Family. As for him, they detained him at *Ispahan*, under a genteel Guard, without any Mark of Scandal, that could stick either upon him or his Family, and only to be safe against the Consequences of the Resentment of a Man who was only suspected, because he had met with ill Treatment enough to provoke him to be a Malecontent. But notwithstanding the Injustice which had been done him, he shew'd plainly afterwards, that he was always more disposed to forget Outrages than his Duty. Nor was it from any Disgust that he refused to command the Troops, as he was importuned to do at the Time that *Ispahan* began to be pressed with the Famine, but merely, as he said himself in Justification of his Refusal, because with the few Troops that remained, he saw plainly that there was no Good to be done with the *Aghvans*; and that in the mean Time, if, while he did his best, the least Thing should happen to check him, the Suspicions of what was past would cause it to be imputed to him as a Crime. His Excuses were at that Time taken for a mere Pretext to cover that secret Disgust which

which hinder'd him from Action; but his Conduct when *Maghmud* was Master of *Ispahan*, plainly shew'd the Candor of his Proceeding, and the Uprightness of his Intentions. As this Usurper had learned, at his own Expence, what he was capable of doing, he left no Stone unturn'd to make him his Friend, and he thought that *Lust-Ali-Kan* would be the more pliable, because he did not doubt that this Nobleman would prefer the Friendship of a new King, who heap'd Wealth and Honour upon him, before that of an unjust and dethroned King, who had abused him in both these Respects. But though, as soon as he entered *Ispahan*, his very first Care was to send for him to come to him, to give him all the Marks of Favour and Distinction that were most likely to win him, to raise him to new Honours, to load him with Favours of all kind; and though he every Day improved his kind Treatment of him, he could never gain him to the Prejudice of what he thought his Duty to the Royal Family, and *Schah-Husssein* had the Mortification to see that this same Man, whom he was so weak as to suspect of Treason, could not resolve with himself to abandon him, when it had been pardonable for him to have done it, and notwithstanding the Example he had first shewn him, by abandoning himself. *Lust-Ali-Kan*, who might have lived peaceably at *Ispahan*, esteem'd and valued by him that was the Master there, and who demanded no other Complaisance of him, but to receive his Favours, and to take them in good Part, would not so much as give himself Time to stay till some fair Opportunity offered to serve his old Masters. Notwithstanding all the Favours which the new King heaped upon him, all his Care was to get out of his Way; for which at last he found an Opportunity, and with the Risque of every Thing, laid hold of it to go and join the Prince *Thamas*, Son of *Schah-Husssein*, with whom he had a Son already; and who with a handful of Troops still kept up the remaining Hopes of the Royal Family in one Corner of *Persia*.

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NOTHING is a better Proof of the high Idea which the *Aghvans* had conceived of the Abilities of this great Captain, than their Consternation at his Escape.

FROM the very first Suspicion they had of him they were so uneasy and alarmed, as if they thought themselves ruin'd. And really, considering the Notion they had, which was not without Foundation, that if a General of his Merit and Experience was at the Head of Prince *Thamas*' Party, his Reputation would soon make him considerable, and he would come himself ere long to attack them in *Ispahan*, and to drive them out as he had done two Years before from *Kirman*, they spared neither Menaces nor Promises to deter him. Strict Search was made for him in all the Houses of *Ispahan*, which was threaten'd with Fire and Sword, if it should appear that any Inhabitants had concealed him; the greatest Rewards were promised to any who should discover them: In short, every Thing was in Disorder and Tumult among the *Aghvans*, when Advice came that he was discovered and apprehended at *Ben-Ispahan*, a great Town in the Neighbourhood of the Capital, and that they were carrying him to *Maghmud*. This *Barbarian* was so enraged, because of the Trouble his Escape had put him to, that the Moment he saw him, he rush'd upon him with Fury, and cut him to Pieces with his Sword. One may judge of the Fright he had been in at this General's Escape by the Obligation he profess'd to the Inhabitants of *Ben-Ispahan*, for having deliver'd him up. As they had given him more Trouble than any City of *Persia*; and as they had defeated several Bodies of his Troops during the Siege of *Ispahan*, he never could be heartily reconciled to them; and though he was all along very strict in observing the Conditions upon which they submitted to him, yet it was plain that he remember'd old Scores, and only waited for an Opportunity to be revenged. But the Service which they had now done him,

him, in delivering up the only Man in *Persia* to him that he believ'd capable of driving him out of a Throne, upon which he never thought himself well established, so long as he had such an Enemy before his Eyes, seem'd of such great Importance to him, that it cancell'd all the Prejudices which he had till then entertained against the Inhabitants of *Ben-Ispahan*; and he looked upon them afterwards as Persons who were Proof against all Temptations. He imagin'd that, after an Action of such Noise and Importance, by which they had render'd themselves irreconcilable with their old Masters, he might hereafter depend upon them as much as upon the *Aghvans* themselves, and he gave them the most authentick Marks of his Gratitude; and even of his Confidence by the Privileges of all Kinds, of which he was lavish to them.

WHAT I have just now related of the Death of the General *Luft-Ali-Kan*, did not happen till towards the Close of 1722. and after *Schah-Hussein's* Dethronement; but it was necessary to anticipate Events a little; that the Reader might have all the Satisfaction that he could desire, with regard to the Fate of this Great Man, whose Disgrace, as well as that of the Prime Minister, his Brother-in-Law, ought to be looked upon as the *Epocha* of the first Blow that shook the Throne of *Schah-Hussein*, as we shall shew hereafter.

IT was in *November*, 1720. that the General was apprehended at *Chiras*, just as he was on the March to besiege *Candabar*. His Army which encamped round *Chiras*, and which only waited for his Orders to decamp, no sooner heard that he was apprehended as a Malefactor for High-Treason, and carried under a strong Guard to Court, but every one fearing to be involved in his Disgrace, that they should be called to account for the Violences committed in the *Persian* Gulph, and the neighbouring Provinces, and that they should be robbed of the Booty they had brought away, took care to shift for themselves as fast as possible,

ble ; so that this Army, which was one of the finest that had been on Foot in *Persia* for a long Time, was dispersed in a Moment.

THIS was what those who governed at Court foresaw plain enough, if they did not contribute to it by giving the Alarm to the Troops of the Search which was threaten'd to be made among them, for having plundered the Provinces. 'Tis certain that they were very easy at Court at the dispersing of this Army, on one hand, because they were afraid it would take Revenge for the Affront put upon their General, who was very dear to them, or lest the Spirit of Rebellion should creep in among them, and blow up a Flame in the State ; and on the other hand, because Affairs took a Turn which made it probable they had no longer need of them.

AND indeed it seemed they had nothing to fear, neither from the *Lesgians*, nor *Maghmud*. For the latter since his Defeat was afraid to stir out of *Candahar* ; and there actually went Reports that the *Aghvans* being alarmed, and mortify'd at this first Shock, and not caring to expose themselves to a second, which would destroy them without Remedy, desired nothing better than to enter into an Accommodation. As for the *Lesgians*, who were threaten'd with a speedy Irruption by *Vachtanga*, Prince of *Georgia*, and who had no other Means to lay the Storm, than by making their Peace with the King of *Persia*, to whom *Vachtanga* was Vassal, they desired it with folded Hands, and spared no Sollicitations nor Submission to prevail with the Court to protect them from the Resentment of a Prince, by whom they saw themselves ready to be crush'd to Pieces. And as this is the first Time of his Appearance upon the Stage, it will not be improper to give the Reader a true Account of him, and of what gave Occasion to the IncurSION that he was preparing to make against the *Lesgians*.

AFTER the Death of *Kostrow-Kan*, Prince of *Georgia*, who was killed, as has been said, in his first
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Expedition against *Myrr-Weis*, *Vachtanga*, as Eldest of the surviving Princes, ought to have succeeded him. But because he could not do it without changing his Religion, he chose rather to renounce his Right and Title. That Brother who followed him, being already Patriarch of *Georgia*, offered to turn *Mussulman*; and to take a Wife, by quitting the Patriarchat for the Principality. But their Father, who was *Divan-Beg*, or Chief Justice at *Ispahan*, did not approve of the Patriarch's Thought, and, notwithstanding he was such a staunch *Mussulman* himself, looked upon it as a Temptation, of which he found Means to cure him, by a great Number of Bastinadoes on the Soles of his Feet, by which he confirmed him in his Patriarchat*. Mean Time, a third Brother who was not under the same Engagements as the second, turned Mahometan, and was made Prince of *Georgia*. As for *Vachtanga*, the Court was so disgusted with his Denial; that they banished him to *Kirman*. But at length, when a few Years were expired, the Tedioufness of his Exile prevailed on him, and rendered him more pliable to the Sollicitations and great Promises that were made to engage him to take the Turban; and as soon as this was done, he had all the Rights of Primogeniture restored to him, and was installed Prince of *Georgia*.

WHEN he was arrived at *Teflis*, which is the Capital of the Country, and had heard, and partly seen with his own Eyes, the horrid Ravages which the *Lesgians* had made on his Lands, he resolved on such Revenge, as should for ever put it out of their Power to attempt the like again, and which might serve for a Warning to his Neighbours. With this Design, therefore, he called together all the Nobility of his Dominions, and having ordered all his Vassals that were fit to bear Arms, to come and join him at *Teflis*;

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* 'Tis said that he died afterwards a Roman Catholick;

he formed an Army therewith of sixty thousand Men. In getting them together, and in making the other necessary Preparations for his Expedition, he spent the last Months of the Year 1719. which was the Year of his Return, and the first Months of the Year 1720.

HE was in a Condition to open the Campaign about the End of the Spring. But as his Design was more upon their Persons, than upon their Country, whose Poverty secured it, it was to no Purpose for him to hurry himself to Action. He knew that 'twas their Custom to leave the Plains about the Beginning of Summer, and to retire with their Flocks to the inaccessible Parts of Mount *Caucasus*, where they are sure to find a Shelter against the Heats of the Season, which in the Fields are not tolerable. Therefore he resolved to take Time till the Cold of the Autumn and Winter drove them from Mount *Caucasus*, where 'tis very severe, and obliged them to come down again into the Plains, where he depended on having them at his Mercy.

WHEN the *Lesgians* saw his Manner of proceeding, they imagined that they were undone without Remedy, if they did not find Means to ward off the Blow: And as nothing but the Authority of the King of *Persia*, could hold the Arm which they saw lifted up over their Heads, they were under an indispensable Necessity of having Recourse to it. Mean time, as it was already the Month of *December* before they received the News that the Court of *Persia* had complied with their Submission, they knew not what Course to steer. To quit Mount *Caucasus*, and to come down into the Plains, was to abandon themselves to the *Georgians*. To stay upon that Mountain in the Winter Time, was the Way to perish. And accordingly seven hundred Families of those, who in their Terror at the Approach of the *Georgians* were so obstinate as to stay upon Mount *Caucasus*, were buried in the Snows, which was a Loss of near seventy thousand

land Men to the Nation, each Family consisting generally of about an hundred Persons.

THEY were in this cruel *Dilemma*, when, happy for them, though unhappy for *Schah-Hussein*, they were delivered out of it by the two very Informers, who had lately ruined the Prime Minister; and who, on this Occasion, made the King commit a second Blunder, as prejudicial to him as the former, and to which he ought partly to ascribe the Loss of his Crown.

THE formidable Army, which the Prince of *Georgia* had on Foot, was as terrifying to the Chief Physician *Hekim-Bafzi*, and to the Chief Moullah, or Chaplain to the King, as it was to the *Lesgians*. One of the Sons of the degraded *Athemat-Doulet*, was Brother to the Prince of *Georgia*; and as People conscious of their own Guilt are always under Terror, and imagine that every thing they do, tends directly to the Punishment of their Crimes, they imagined that the Prince *Vachtanga* would no sooner do himself Justice upon the *Lesgians*, but that he would put himself at the Head of sixty thousand good Soldiers, and might be tempted to come and demand Satisfaction of the King for the Injustice that had been done to the Prime Minister, and to force him at least to give up the two Informers to him, that had been the Cause of his Ruin.

BEING alarm'd in this Respect, they frighten'd the King yet more in another. Notwithstanding all the Conviction which *Schah-Hussein* had of the Innocence of his Prime Minister, and of the Knavery of his two Confidants, his Weakness, and a long Acquaintance, which is a fatal Rock to Princes, permitted them to regain the Ascendant, which they always had over him. They improved it by making him jealous of Prince *Vachtanga's* Undertaking, by representing to him, that this Expedition, wherein the Prince seem'd to aim only at the *Lesgians*, concerned his Majesty as much, or more than the *Lesgians* themselves;

selves; that with the powerful Army, at the Head of which he marched against those *Barbarians*, he would soon reduce them; and that after having taken their Country, which borders upon *Muscovy*, he would be very well able, with the Reinforcements he would get from the *Muscovites*, to molest and attack *Persia*, whenever he pleased: That there was a very plain Method to prevent, and to defeat his Projects; that the only Thing that needed to be done, was to grant Peace to the *Lesgians*, who had solicited it for a long Time, with the utmost Intreaty; and, in Consequence thereof, to send a positive Order to the Prince of *Georgia*, to disarm, and to retire Home; that by doing so, he would gain the *Lesgians*, who would only be obliged for their Safety upon this Occasion, to the King's Goodness and Clemency; and that even tho' they should be ungrateful enough to forget their Obligation to his Majesty, for having preserved them from imminent and total Ruin, yet the Fear of being abandon'd to the Discretion of the Prince of *Georgia*, upon the first Insurrection they should make, would retain them in their Duty: That the Prince of *Georgia*, on his Part, having no longer a Pretext to take Arms, would lie very quiet on this Frontier; and that the Jealousy and Diffidence between the *Georgians* and *Lesgians* would keep them both in a Submission, which would free the Court from all Uneasiness upon their Account.

THE Advice was approved; and as the Affair was pressing, and they knew that the Prince *Vachtanga* was already on the March, a Courier was sent instantly to carry him the King's Orders, which were not only positive, but so lofty, that it seem'd he affected to treat him without any Decorum. In short, the Order said, That if he had taken Horse for the Expedition, he must dismount that Instant; that if he was actually pursuing the *Lesgians*, he must stop that Moment; that if he had drawn his Sword, he must immediately sheath it; and that he must take great Care of disturbing

bing the Peace, which it had pleased the King to grant to that Nation.

'Tis more easy to imagine, than to exprels how much the Prince *Vachtanga* was enraged at an Order so imperious and unseasonable. He was provoked to see certain Victory snatch'd out of his Hands; and that he should be brav'd in such a haughty Manner in the Sight of those very *Barbarians*, that he was ready to crush to Pieces. It was thought that in his Vexation he would have gone farther, notwithstanding the Orders of the Court, if he could have been sure of the chief Lords of his Nobility, whose Troops made great Part of his Army; but mistrusting that the Court had gain'd them, and fearing to be abandoned by them, as the Prince *Georgi-Kan* formerly was, if he contraven'd the King's Orders, he took the only Course he had to take, which was to declare that he would obey. He made the Declaration, indeed, but in a Manner that was truly worthy of his great Soul; for having sent for the Courier, which had brought him the Order, he drew his Sword before him, and pointing him to it, made an Oath that he would never draw it for the Service of the King, or the Defence of *Persia*; an Oath which he observed afterwards too religiously, to the great Prejudice of the King and Kingdom, as will appear hereafter. He retired after this Declaration, and carried back his Army, which raged with Indignation to see that, after all the Ravages which the *Lesgians* had made in *Georgia*, they should escape out of their Hands, just as they were on the Point of sacrificing them to their Vengeance. Therefore they conceived from that Time such an indifferent Opinion of *Persia*, that they never were reconciled to it afterwards. As to the Prince *Vachtanga* he took care to secure his Frontiers against the Excursions of the *Lesgians*. After which he shut himself up at *Teflis*, resolv'd to have nothing at all to do with *Persia*, and not to bear Arms, unless he was attacked himself. All this pass'd about the End of the Year 1720. and not

long after the Disgrace of the *Athemat-Doulet*, which happen'd, as we have said, in *November* the same Year.

AFTER what the Court of *Persia* had lately done in Favour of the *Lesgians*, whom they had preserv'd from total Destruction, they expected a great Calm on the Side of that Frontier; and 'tis certain that they had all the Reason to expect it, if they could depend on the Gratitude and Oaths of those *Barbarians*. But they were Bonds too weak to stop a fierce Nation, accustomed to live by Robbery, and not to be aw'd by any thing less than the Fear of a superior Power. This Peace which they had solicited with the greatest Earnestness, and which they had, as we may say, begg'd on their very Knees, subsisted no longer on their Part, than till they could recover from their past Fright. It scarce lasted three or four Months, and they spent Part of the Time in making Preparations for the Campaign, as soon as the Season should permit. For, as soon as they saw that the *Georgian* Army was retired, and that after the Oath which the Prince of *Georgia* had taken never to draw the Sword for the Service of *Persia*, they had nothing to fear from him, as long as they did not touch his Frontiers, they resolved to fall upon the Provinces of *Persia* which they bordered upon, and which the Court, from a too great Confidence in the Faith of a Treaty they had wheedled them into, had left absolutely unprovided of Forces. They wanted nothing but a Pretext to break the Peace, which they had just concluded; and they sought for one that might interest the whole Nation, and oblige even those who before had kept fair with *Persia*, to take Arms in their Quarrel. The Disgrace of the *Athemat-Doulet*, whose Eyes had been put out, and who was confined in *Persia* for the Remainder of his Days, after his Estate was forfeited, seem'd to them very likely to produce the Effect which they propos'd.

THIS Minister, as has been observed before, was originally of their Nation, and even of the Blood of their Kings. They pretended, that it was out of
Spight

Spight to the whole Nation he had been so cruelly and basely treated; and that it concern'd their Honour to resent it. Scarce any thing could be worse contriv'd than this Pretext; for, as their Treaty of Accommodation was not made, till after the Disgrace of the *Athemat-Doulet*, it does not appear how the Injustice done to one of their Countrymen could authorize them to break the Peace, which it had not hinder'd them from concluding. But, as they only wanted a Pretext; and, as that seem'd to them more specious than any other, they made use of it to incense the whole Nation, and to make it sensible of the Obligation of a common Resentment, from which no Body was to be dispensed withal. Therefore he summon'd an Assembly of all the Families upon this Head, wherein it was resolved, that the whole Nation should take Arms to demand Satisfaction for the Affront which had been put upon it in the Person of the *Athemat-Doulet*, their Countryman. The League was general; and even those who till then had liv'd in a good Understanding with *Persia*, were at last oblig'd to join with the others to attack it.

THEY went into the Field in the Beginning of the Spring, 1721. and fell upon the neighbouring Provinces, which little expected such a Visit; and thinking that they had a good Safeguard in the Treaty concluded three or four Months before, were out of a Capacity to make any Resistance. The *Lesgians* spread themselves every where, like a Torrent which nothing can resist: They plunder'd several very considerable Towns, and particularly *Szamachi*: And, after having cut in Pieces some Troops that were rallied together to oppose their Excursions and Ravages, they fell upon the Province of *Szyrwan*, one of the richest in *Persia*, which they soon reduced to be one of the poorest, by their plundering it without Mercy.

It was at the same Time that the City of *Tauris*, which was the greatest, and most famous of *Persia*, next to *Ispahan*, and which is also comprised in the Province

Province of *Szyrwan*, was destroy'd by an Earthquake, wherein eighty thousand Souls perished. This Calamity, added to the Scourge of War, occasioned a very great Consternation through all *Persia*. But what most frightened *Ispahan*, was, a Phænomenon that appear'd there in the Air, during the Summer of 1721. The Clouds being at that Time very thick, the Sun appeared through them of a Blood Colour, which lasted near two Months. The Astrologers of *Persia* being consulted upon it, declared that it was an Omen of a great Effusion of Blood; and, as they are very much heard in that Country, the Account which they gave of the Phænomenon, only served to augment the Consternation, which was more visible at Court, than elsewhere. Every Body seem'd to have a secret Foreboding of the Calamities that were soon to arrive: But this Apprehension, instead of awaking the King and his Ministers, by rousing them out of the profound Lethargy which they seem'd to be buried in; and instead of animating them to make any extraordinary Effort to prevent the Misfortunes, with which they were threaten'd on all Sides; only made them sullen and heartless, like People that see an Evil coming over their Heads, which they have no Strength nor Means to avoid. The Inaction and the Weakness of the Court by this general Discouragement was what reviv'd the Hopes of *Myrr-Maghmud*, and gave him an Opportunity to verify the Presages and Predictions which the Stars and Star-Gazers had foretold in vain, if the *Persians* had had but the Courage to have taken the necessary Measures to divert the Effects of them. This is what I am going to explain in the Sequel of this History, in which it will appear that never was there a cheaper Conquest of so great a Kingdom; that the Conquerors never dream'd of any such Thing; and that they had not determin'd at last to undertake it, if they had not thought the Success sure, and found it every Day more practicable, the farther they advanc'd.

The End of the First Volume.

